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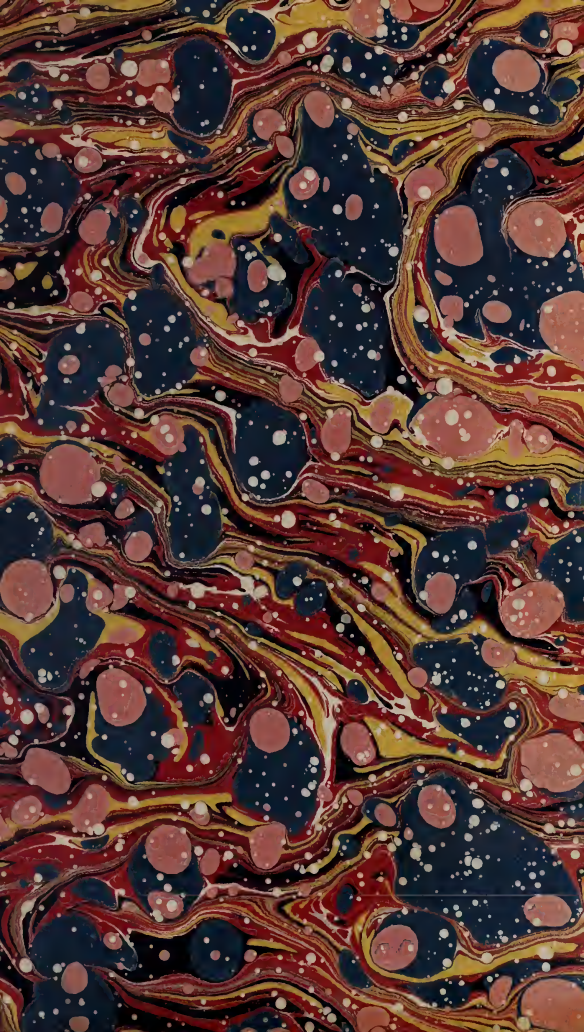

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THE WORKS

OF GEORGE BULL, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S,

COLLECTED AND REVISED

BY

THE REV. EDWARD BURTON, D.D.

FORMERLY STUDENT, AFTERWARDS CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH AND REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

THE LIFE OF BISHOP BULL,

BY

ROBERT NELSON, ESQ.

VOL. II.

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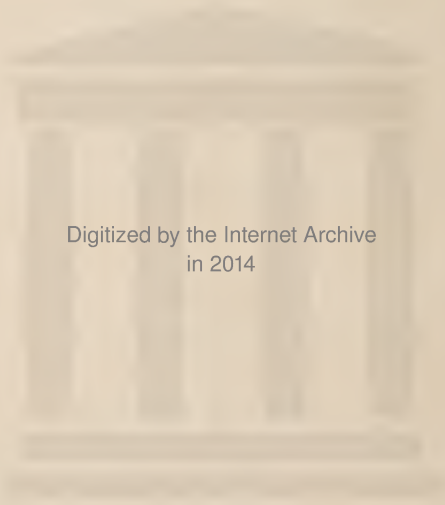

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PRESENT OF
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THEOLOGICAL

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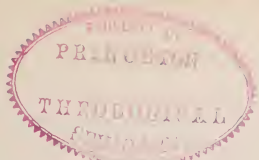

DISCOURSE I.[a]

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH FOR THE FIRST THREE AGES OF CHRISTIANITY, CONCERNING THE BLESSED TRINITY, CONSIDERED, IN OPPOSITION TO SABELLIANISM AND TRITHEISM.

THE unanimous sense of the catholic doctors of the church, for the first three ages of Christianity, concerning the article of the Trinity, is in short this:

I. That there are in the Godhead three (not mere names or modes, but) really distinct hypostases or persons, the Father, the Son or Word of God, and the Holy Ghost.

II. That these three persons are one God; which they thus explain:

1. There is but one fountain or principle of divinity, God the Father, who only is Αὐτόθεος, God of and from himself; the Son and Holy Ghost deriving their divinity from him; the Son immediately from the Father, the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, or from the Father by the Son.

2. The Son and Holy Ghost are so derived from the fountain of the divinity, as that they are not separate or separable from it, but do still exist in it, and are most intimately united to it.

[a] [This discourse was written 1697, for the satisfaction of lord Arundel, as is stated at length in the Life, §. LXXXII. p. 422.]

All the Fathers insist upon this, that if there were more than one fountain of the divinity, or if the three persons were each of them a self-dependent principle of divinity, or if the three persons were separate from each other, then there would be three Gods. But being there is but one fountain of the divinity, the Father, the Son and Holy Ghost deriving their divinity from that fountain, and that so, as still to exist in it, and be inseparably united to it, there is but one God. That this is the unanimous consent and constant doctrine of the primitive Fathers, I have fully shewed in my *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*. I shall here resume, and more fully explain, only one testimony which I have there alleged, because it shews us what was then accounted Sabellianism, what Tritheism, and what the catholic doctrine concerning the blessed Trinity; matters so hotly disputed among us at this day.

Dionysius, bishop of Rome, who flourished about the year 259, whom his great namesake of Alexandria styles λόγιόν τε καὶ θαυμάσιον, *a learned and wonderful man*, in an Epistle against the Sabellians, (which doubtless he wrote, as the manner then was, with the advice and consent of the clergy of his diocese synodically convened,) after he had refuted the doctrine of Sabellius[b], thus proceeds to discourse against the contrary heresy of those "who divide "and cut asunder, and overthrow the most sacred "doctrine of the church of God, parting the mon-"archy into three certain powers and hypostases, "separated from each other, and consequently into "three Deities. For I hear that there are some

[b] Apud Athan. de Decret. Syn. Nic. tom. I. p. 275. [c. 26. vol. I. p. 231.]

" catechists and teachers of the word of God among " you, who maintain this opinion; therein diametri- " cally, if I may so speak, opposing the hypothesis " of Sabellius. For he blasphemeth by affirming that " the Father is the Son, and, on the other side, that " the Son is the Father; but these men in a manner " teach three Gods, whilst they divide the holy " Unity into hypostases, alien and wholly divided " from each other. For it is absolutely necessary " that we hold, that the divine Word is united to the " God of all things, and that the Holy Ghost re- " mains and dwells in God; and also, that the divine " Trinity is gathered together and united into one, " as into a certain head; I mean the omnipotent " God, the Father of all things[c]."

Here we see what is Sabellianism, viz. To affirm that the Son is the Father, and the Father the Son; and consequently that the Holy Ghost is the same with both. And all they come very near this heresy, who acknowledge only a modal distinction between the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. What is Tritheism he also shews us plainly, viz. That it is to hold, that the three persons in the Trinity are of a different nature, or separated and divided from each other; or that there is more than one fountain or principle of the divinity. According to which account, Dr. Sherlock is certainly clear from the charge of Tritheism: the catholic doctrine he declares to be this, " That there are three really distinct hypostases " in the Godhead, and yet that there is but one God;

[c] And afterwards in the conclusion he saith, that in this way only, *καὶ ἡ θεία Τριὰς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον κήρυγμα τῆς μοναρχίας διασώζοιτο*, i. e. " Both the divine Trinity," (that is, a real Trinity,) " and also " the holy doctrine of the monarchy, can be preserved." [p. 232.]

" because the Father only is the head of the divinity, " and the Son and Holy Ghost, as they are derived " from him, so they exist in him, and are inseparably " united to him."

Of such a distinction and union of persons we have indeed no example, or exact similitude among created beings: but what then? It does not follow that therefore there cannot be such a distinction and union in the transcendent and most spiritual nature of God. The Antitrinitarians can never produce a demonstrative reason to prove that this cannot be; and divine revelation assures us that so it is. The most weighty arguments that are brought by the Antitrinitarians against a distinction of hypostases in the Godhead are reducible to one, which if well answered, the rest will fall to the ground. The argument is this:

The most simple being admits of no distinction.

God is the most simple being;

Therefore God admits of no distinction.

Answ. If the Antitrinitarians that make this objection are the Socinians among us, as I presume they are, it is news to hear that they should argue from the simplicity of the Godhead, seeing the great masters of that sect, Socinus, Crellius, &c., held that God is a material being, and consequently compounded of matter and form. Express citations to this purpose may be seen in Dr. Edwards's *Antidote against Socinianism*, part I. p. 65, 66.

This opinion they held, because they could not conceive how there can be any substance that is purely spiritual, and abstracted from all matter: and if they could have conceived this, perhaps they would not have stuck at the doctrine of the Trinity. For

the great difficulty of conceiving a Trinity in Unity in the Godhead arises chiefly from hence, that men are apt to measure the divine nature from ideas and notions taken from material things. But to the purpose:

1. The simplicity of the divine nature does indeed exclude all mixture; i. e. all composition of things heterogeneous in the Godhead, there being nothing in God but what is God; but for all that, there may be distinction of hypostases in the Godhead, provided they are homogeneous, and of the same nature, as the catholic doctrine teaches.

2. The simplicity of the divine nature, if rightly considered, is so far from excluding, that it necessarily infers a distinction of hypostases in the Godhead. For wherein does the simplicity of the Godhead especially consist but in this, that God is a pure eternal mind, free from the mixture of all kind of matter whatsoever? Now an eternal mind must needs have in it from eternity an ἔννοια or λόγος, *a notion or conception of itself*, which the schools term *verbum mentis;* nor can it be conceived without it. This word in God cannot be, as it is in us, a transient, vanishing accident, for then the divine nature would indeed be compounded of substance and accident, which would be repugnant to its simplicity; but it must be a substantial subsisting word. The great apostolical bishop of Neocæsarea, Gregory, surnamed Thaumaturgus, in his Panegyric to Origen, (by all confessed to be genuine,) calls it, "the most perfect, "living, and animate word of the very first mind [d]." This word also is manifestly (though not divided,

[d] Τελειότατον καὶ ζῶντα καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρώτου νοῦ λόγον ἔμψυχον.

yet) distinct from the eternal mind from whence it proceeds. And this is no novel subtlety of the schools, but a notion that runs through all the Fathers, even those of the first ages, as appears from the testimonies produced out of them in my *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*, and it is also grounded on holy Scripture.

Hence the excellent Athanasius, than whom no man better understood the sense of Scripture and the doctors of the church that were before him in the article of the Trinity, insists upon it in his Oration against the Sabellians. In the beginning of which, having first shewn how the catholic church of Christ, in her notion and worship of God, differs from the heathens and Jews, he proceeds to declare the difference betwixt the orthodox Christians and the Sabellians, and other Unitarians of his time, who under pretence of defending the unity of the Godhead, denied all distinction of hypostases therein. His words are these; "We are separated also from "those who corrupt Christianity with Judaism, who, "denying the God of God, profess one God as the "Jews do, affirming him (the Father) to be the only "God, not upon account that he only is unbegotten, "and the only fountain of the Deity, but as if he "were without a Son, and barren, and void of his "living word and true wisdom. For they conceive "the word of God to be such as proceeds from the "mind of man, and his wisdom to be such as that "of ours; and therefore affirm God with his Word "to be one person, just as we say that a man toge- "ther with his word is one man; being in this no "wiser than the Jews, who own not the Evangelist "in the beginning of his Gospel, proclaiming, *In*

"*the beginning was the Word, and the Word was* "*with God, and the Word was God.* For if God "hath a word in his mind not really begotten of "him as God of God, how could *the Word be with* "*God*, and how could it be *God?* For the word "conceived in the mind of man is not a man with "another man, seeing it neither lives nor subsists, "but is only a motion or operation of the same living "subsisting mind."

This great man took it for granted, that St. John, in the text alleged, meant that *the Word was with God in the beginning*, before any created being existed, and consequently that he is called *the Word of God*, not with respect to the creatures, (though it is true that he afterwards revealed the will of God to mankind, and might in that respect also be called *the Word of God*,) but with respect to God the Father, whose Word he eternally was, and with whom he was *in the beginning;* and therefore he was not the same hypostasis with him, and yet he was God as well as the Father. He had never heard of the senseless interpretation of Socinus, who by *the beginning* in that text understands *the beginning of the Gospel;* there being then no heretic (among those many that opposed the divinity of our Lord) who had the confidence to advance so ridiculous a sense of those words: Lælius Socinus hath the honour of that interpretation.

If it be objected, that all this being granted proves only two hypostases in the Godhead, not a Trinity; I answer, 1. This proves that a distinction of hypostases in the Godhead is very consistent with its simplicity; nay, that from the true notion of the simplicity of the Godhead, such a distinction neces-

sarily follows. 2. If there be two hypostases in the Godhead, there may be a third; and that there is a third, the holy Scripture assures us. Indeed, I do not remember that any of the Fathers of the first three centuries have attempted to explain distinctly the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, or from the Father by the Son; there being little or no dispute concerning the divinity of the Holy Ghost till Macedonius appeared, and disputed the faith of the church in that article. For before him, all the Antitrinitarians, of what sort soever, chose especially to oppugn the divinity of the Son of God, taking occasion from those texts of Scripture which respect his human nature, and that economy which for our salvation he took upon him. Which pretence seeing they had not to make use of in disputing against the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, they thought it best to say nothing of it, contenting themselves in opposing the divinity of the Son, and by consequence to overthrow that of the Holy Spirit. But in general I have observed, that those primitive Fathers held the Holy Ghost to be as it were *vinculum Trinitatis*, "the bond of the holy "Trinity," the union of Father and Son. Hence some ancient doxologies run thus, "Glory be to the "Father and the Son in the unity of the Holy "Ghost." And the most learned Christian philosopher, Athenagoras, who flourished very near the first succession of the apostles, expressly affirms the Father and the Son to be one, ἑνότητι Πνεύματος[e], i. e. *by the unity of the Spirit;* which I think imports the same thing with what St. Augustin and other

[e] [P. 287. in ed. Just. Mart.]

later Fathers say, that the Holy Ghost is *Amor Patris et Filii*. But this by the way.

There is another notion which frequently occurs in the writings of the primitive Fathers, tending to shew the incongruity of asserting the Godhead to be so simple a being, as to be *μονοπρόσωπος, a solitary single hypostasis*, which hath also a foundation in the holy Scriptures, and it is this; "without ac- "knowledging a distinction of hypostases in the "Godhead, we cannot well conceive that *αὐτάρκεια* "which we attribute to God, i. e. his self-sufficiency "and most perfect bliss and happiness in himself "alone, before and without all created beings[f]." But by admitting this it plainly appears, that himself alone is a most perfect and blessed society, the Father, the Son, and the Spirit eternally conversing with and enjoying each other. See Prov. viii. 22 to 31 inclusive: where the wisdom of God, which is said to be *with God from everlasting, from the beginning, before the earth was, and to be his continual delight*, all the Fathers unanimously understood to be (as indeed the words themselves literally and plainly import) *Σοφία ὑφεστῶσα, a subsisting personal wisdom*, i. e. the Son of God, who is accordingly by

[f] Ante omnia Deus erat solus, ipse sibi et mundus et locus et omnia: solus autem quia nihil aliud extrinsecus præter ipsum; cæterum ne tunc quidem solus; habebat enim secum, quam habebat in seipso, rationem suam scilicet. Hanc Græci *Λόγον* dicunt. Tertul. advers. Prax. cap. v. Satis igitur nobis scire solum, nihil esse Deo coævum; nihil erat præter ipsum, ipse solus multus erat. Neque enim erat sine ratione, (Gr. *τῷ Λόγῳ,*) &c. Hippol. Hom. de Deo trino et uno. Bibl. PP. tom. XV. p. 622. *Οὐ θέμις ἔστιν, οὐδὲ ἀκίνδυνον διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ἡμῶν τὸ ὅσον ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀποστερεῖσθαι τὸν Θεὸν τοῦ ἀεὶ συνόντος αὐτῷ Λόγου μονογενοῦς· Σοφίας ὄντος ἢ προσέχαιρεν· οὕτω γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀεὶ χαίρων νοηθήσεται.* Origen. apud Athanasium, tom. I. p. 277. [de Decret. Nic. c. 27. p. 233.]

St. Paul expressly styled *the wisdom of God*, 1 Cor. i. 24. And that the Λόγος, or *Son of God*, was known by the ancient Jews themselves under the title of *the wisdom of God*, sufficiently appears from many passages in Philo, and from the author of the Book of Wisdom, chap. vii. 26. compared with Col. i. 15. and Heb. i. 3.

To conclude: The doctrine of the church concerning the blessed Trinity hath been abundantly confirmed by catholic writers, both ancient and modern, from many clear texts out of the holy Scriptures; which as they assert the unity of the Godhead, so do they also plainly teach us, that there are three to whom the essential attributes and proper operations of the Godhead do belong, viz. the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The interpretations, whereby Socinus and his more immediate followers endeavoured to elude the texts alleged by the catholics, are so manifestly forced and strained, that I do not see how any honest mind, that bears any reverence or respect to the sacred Scriptures, can away with them. This the Socinians among us of late seem to be sensible of, and therefore have taken a shorter, but more desperate course, by calling in question the authority of the principal Scriptures alleged by us. Thus the author of the pamphlet, entitled *The Judgment of the Fathers*, &c., disputes the authority of the Gospel of St. John. For he tells us from Epiphanius, that the Alogians or Alogi (whom, according to his accustomed impudence, he highly magnifies, and affirms to be the purest and most ancient Gentile Christians, yea and coeval with the apostles, whereas Epiphanius[g] expressly saith, that the he-

[g] Hær. LI. in ipso initio.

resy of the Alogi appeared in the world after the Cataphrygians, (or Montanists,) the Quintilians, and the sect of the Quartodecimani, and therefore could not be earlier than about the beginning of the third century) were so called, because they denied the Λόγος, or *Word*, of which St. John speaks in his Gospel, Epistles, and Revelations. They said, that all those pieces were written by Cerinthus, under the name of St. John; and in his *Considerations* he produceth their arguments, and with this preface, that he "should be glad to see a good answer to the "exceptions of those Unitarians against those books "we receive of St. John's." Which implies, that he thinks those arguments (which in truth are but senseless cavils) have not been sufficiently answered by Epiphanius, or any other catholic; and that he himself cannot tell how to answer them, and therefore must submit to the force of them, till he receives better information.

Now as for the Apocalypse; we acknowledge that it hath been questioned by some, not only heretics, but catholics; but upon slight grounds, as hath been sufficiently shewed by divers learned interpreters, and particularly by Grotius, in the preface to his annotations upon it. The second and third Epistles also have been, and still are, doubted of by many, who rather think them to be written by St. John the presbyter; (see Grotius again in the preface to his notes on the second Epistle.) But as for the Gospel and first Epistle attributed to St. John, they have always been received in the church of God as his undoubted and genuine writings. They are cited as St. John's by the catholic Fathers that lived nearest the times of that apostle; and particularly by Irenæus, who

was an auditor of St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John.

As for their being written by Cerinthus the heretic, no man in his wits, and that understands any thing of the dogmata of Cerinthus, can imagine it. For it is evident, that the first chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, and divers passages throughout his first Epistle, are directly opposite to the Cerinthian hypothesis, as I have fully shewn[h]; and accordingly Irenæus and others of the ancients testify, that they were purposely written by St. John against the Cerinthian heresy, which in his time began to trouble the church. So that those heretics who fathered the Gospel and first Epistle, which we receive as St. John's, upon Cerinthus, were by Epiphanius deservedly named Ἄλογοι, men in this void of all sense and reason.

But before I dismiss this account of the Alogi from Epiphanius, I must not omit by the way to observe, that they rejected, not only his Gospel and Revelation, but his Epistles also, and all upon the same account, because in them there was mention made of the divine Λόγος, which they disowned, affirming Christ to be entirely and wholly a mere man that had no existence before the blessed Virgin. Now where is there any text in the Epistles of St. John concerning the Λόγος, that should give such offence to the Alogi? Surely the most likely text is that in the first Epistle, chap. v. 7. *There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word,* (ὁ Λόγος,) *and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one.* This text then was extant in the

[h] Jud. Eccl. Cath. II. 3. et seqq.

Greek copies of the first Epistle of St. John, in the age wherein the Alogi lived, i. e. about the beginning of the third century. And accordingly Tertullian, who then flourished, manifestly alludes to it in his book against Praxeas, cap. xxv. in these words, "Connexus Patris in Filio, et Filii in Paracleto, "tres efficit cohærentes, alterum ex altero, qui tres "unum sunt, (οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσιν,) non unus." And not long after him, St. Cyprian more clearly and fully, "De Patre, Filio, et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est, Hi "tres unum sunt[i]." But to proceed.

The same author tells us[k], "He cannot believe "that the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth "verses of the first chapter of the Epistle to the "Hebrews were originally a part of that Epistle, but "have been fraudulently added." Who can help the infidelity of one who is such a slave to his hypothesis as to resolve to believe nothing against it, though never so certain? Those verses are found in all the Greek copies of the Epistle to the Hebrews at this day extant; and all ancient versions of that Epistle, the Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, render them. But the divine author's applying the words of the Psalmist concerning the creation of heaven and earth to the Son of God, ver. **10, 11, 12.** is so clear a proof of his divinity, that the Socinian knew not what to say to it, and therefore resolves it shall be no Scripture. Indeed he would seem to slight the argument of the catholics from those verses, if admitted to be a part of the Epistle, and would persuade us that it is easily answered, by saying, that *the heavens and earth* there meant, are only the

[i] De Unitate Eccl. cap. iv. prope finem.

[k] Judgment of the Fathers, p. 30.

new heavens and earth foretold by the prophets, even the Gospel economy and state.

But can the heavens and earth, which are said to be made κατ' ἀρχὰς, *in the beginning*, or of old, as it is in Psalm cii. 25. possibly be understood of the new heavens and earth, foretold by the prophets, as to come? Can it be said of the new heavens and earth, or the Gospel-state, that they *shall perish and wax old as a garment, and as a vesture be folded up?* Certainly whoever can give credit to such an interpretation must be given up to a reprobate mind.

But, *O Deus! in quæ nos tempora reservasti, ut ista patiamur?* as the blessed martyr Polycarp was wont to say, when he heard the blasphemies of the heretics of his time: the same wretched author is not afraid to say, "There are shrewd presumptions, "that to the institution of baptism by our Saviour, "in the Gospel of St. Matthew, these words have "been added, *In the name of the Father, Son, and* "*Holy Ghost*[1]."

They are presumptions, and shrewd presumptions indeed, that are opposed to the faith of all the copies of St. Matthew's Gospel at this day extant, and to all the ancient versions of it, and to the practice of the universal church of Christ throughout the world, founded on these words, as undoubtedly the words of our Saviour. But what are the shrewd presumptions he speaks of? He names but one, and that is this: "It appears in the Acts and Epistles of the apostles, "that the apostles never baptized in that form of "words, but only in the name of the Lord Jesus." But where doth this appear, either in the Acts or

[1] Judgment of the Fathers, p. 22.

Epistles of the apostles, that when the apostles baptized any man, they did it in this form only, *I baptize thee in the name of the Lord Jesus?* It is said indeed, that *they baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus;* i. e. into the faith and religion of the Lord Jesus; viz., according to the form of baptism prescribed by the Lord Jesus himself, i. e. *In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Are not they baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, that are baptized according to that form? do not we all understand the Lord Jesus to be meant by the second person named in that form, viz., the Son? Hence Grotius upon those words, Acts xix. 5. *And when they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus,* hath this note, "In nomen Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti." And for this he refers us to his notes on Matt. xxviii. 19. where he handles this matter at large.

Indeed this will clearly appear, if we do but look back to the verses preceding the aforementioned text in the Acts: there we read, ver. 1, 2, 3. that St. Paul, meeting with certain Christians at Ephesus, asked them whether they had *received the Holy Ghost?* To which they answered, that they had *not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost.* St. Paul, wondering at this, replies, *Unto what then were ye baptized?* As if he had said, How can you be ignorant whether there be any Holy Ghost? have you not been baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost? If not, after what form, or how have you been baptized? *And they said, Unto John's baptism.* John indeed, as the apostle rejoins, only baptized unto repentance, thereby to prepare men for the reception of the Mes-

sias, that was to come after him. He did not baptize in the name of the Lord Jesus, i. e. *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* This form of baptism was first appointed by our Saviour himself, and that not till after the resurrection, just before he was to ascend into heaven, and from thence soon after to pour out the Holy Ghost after a wonderful manner upon the apostles. Then, and not before, they were commanded by our Lord to baptize, "in plena et adunata Trinitate," as St. Cyprian[m] expresses it.

To the most holy and undivided Trinity, God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be ascribed all honour and glory, adoration and worship, now and for evermore. *Amen.*

[m] Epist. ad Jubaianum.

DISCOURSE II.[a]

THE PRINCIPAL PARTS AND BRANCHES OF THE PASTORAL OFFICE, WITH RULES AND DIRECTIONS FOR THE DUE PERFORMANCE OF EACH OF THEM.

In a Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's.

Reverend Brethren of the Clergy,

I SHALL not waste my time and little strength by detaining you with a long and useless preface. In short, my business at this time shall be to set before you the several parts and branches of that holy office and function, which you have undertaken, together with some rules and directions which are necessary to be observed for the due performance of each of them.

The principal parts and branches of the pastoral office are these five:

First, Reading divine service, or the prayers of the church.

Secondly, Preaching.

Thirdly, Catechising.

Fourthly, Administering the holy sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Fifthly and lastly, Visiting of the sick.

First, reading divine service, or the prayers of the church. This some may think to be a slight and easy matter, that needs not any advice or directions;

[a] [This appears to have been delivered in 1708. See Sermon VI. vol. I.]

but they are very much mistaken. For to the reading of the prayers aright there is need of great care and caution. The prayers of the church must be read audibly, distinctly, and reverently.

1. Audibly, so that if possible, all that are present may hear them and join in them. There are some that mutter the prayers, as if they were to pray only to themselves, whereby they exclude most of the congregation from the benefit of them.

2. The prayers of the church ought to be read distinctly and leisurely; not to be gallopped over, as the manner of some is, who read the prayers so fast that they outrun the attention and devotion of the people, not giving them time to join with them, or to make their responses in their due places. This rule is to be observed in reading the prayers throughout, but especially in reading the Decalogue or Ten Commandments in the second service. There are some that read the Commandments so thick one upon another, that the people have not time to add that excellent prayer to each of them, "Lord, have "mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this "law."

To this head, of distinct reading the prayers, I shall only add this one observation. Whereas upon Sundays and holydays the church hath appointed a first and second service to be read one after another, it is convenient that there be a decent interval betwixt them. For judge, I pray you, how absurd it may seem to conclude the first service with St. Chrysostom's prayer, and *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ*, and immediately without any intermission to enter upon the second service.

I verily believe the first intention of the church

was, that these two services should be read at two several times in the morning; but now custom and the rubric direct us to use them both at the same time. Yet in cathedral or mother churches there is still a decent distinction between the two services: for before the priest goes to the altar to read the second service, there is a short but excellent anthem sung, in imitation whereof in the churches of London, and in other greater churches of the country, instead of that anthem there is part of a psalm sung.

3. And lastly, the prayers of the church are to be read with great reverence and devotion, so as to excite and kindle devotion in the congregation. Thus the prayers of the church are to be read, if we would keep up the reputation of them, and render them useful to the people. But, alas! there are too many ministers, who by disorderly and indecent and irreverent reading of the Liturgy disgrace it, and expose it to contempt. To whom the church may complain, as one of old in the poet did, of the ill rehearsal of his oration:

> Quem recitas meus est, O Fidentine, libellus,
> Sed male dum recitas incipit esse tuus.

"The book of prayers which ye read is indeed mine, "but at the sad rate you read it, I am ashamed of "it, it is none of mine, but yours."

I am verily persuaded that this is one cause that there are so many sectaries and separatists among us. They find so little reverence and devotion in the use of our common prayers, that they cannot away with them, but run from the church to the conventicle, where they hope to find more devotion.

II. Another part of the pastoral office is preaching, i. e. (as we commonly use the word) taking a

text or portion of Scripture, explaining it, raising some useful point of doctrine from it, and applying it to the edification of the hearers. For otherwise the bare reading of the Scriptures is sometimes called preaching; as Acts xv. 21, *For Moses* (that is, the writings of Moses) *of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath day.* But here I take the word preaching in the forementioned sense, as now it is used. This is a noble part of the pastor's duty, but difficult; it is not a work that every one should undertake or can perform: for it requires the knowledge and understanding of the holy Scriptures, and in order thereunto, some skill in the learned languages and other parts of human learning; it requires a good judgment and discretion, I add elocution too. The time will not give me leave (if I were able) to set before you all the rules or precepts of the art of preaching, and to give you an entire system of it. There are many learned men who have written full treatises of this subject; I mention only our excellent bishop Wilkins, who hath published a treatise, entitled, *Ecclesiastes, or the Preacher*, which I recommend to the reading of younger divines and first beginners in the art of preaching: to whom also I give this farther advice, that they should not at first trust to their own compositions, but furnish themselves with store of the best sermons that have been published by the learned divines of our church. These they should read often, and study to imitate them, and in time they will attain to an habit of good preaching themselves. Among the printed sermons, those of the late archbishop Tillotson are well known and approved by all.

But what shall be done in those poor parishes, where there are as poor ministers, altogether incapable of performing this duty of preaching in any tolerable manner? I answer, that in such places, ministers, instead of sermons of their own, should use the Homilies of the church, which ought to be in every parish. And they would do well also, now and then to read a chapter or section out of the *Whole Duty of Man*, which (I presume) is translated into the Welsh tongue. I add, that it would be a piece of charity if the clergy of the neighbourhood to such places, who are better qualified, would sometimes visit those dark corners, and lend some of their light to them, by bestowing now and then a sermon on the poor people, suited to their capacities and necessities. They have my leave, yea and authority so to do; and they may be sure the good God will not fail to reward them.

III. The third work of the pastor's office is catechising, without which preaching will not be sufficient. For if people be not well instructed in the necessary principles of religion when they are young, they will hardly attain to any sound knowledge when they are old. For according to the Greek apophthegm,

Νεκρὸν ἰατρεύειν καὶ γέροντα νουθετεῖν ταὐτόν ἐστι.

"To instruct an ignorant old man and to raise a "dead man are things almost equally difficult." I shall not insist upon this subject, for the usefulness and necessity of catechising is acknowledged by all, though the work itself is by many of the clergy sadly neglected. Where such neglect is, it is the duty of the churchwardens to present. I shall make it my business to see this fault amended.

IV. Another, and a main part of the priest's office, is the administration of the holy sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

First, for Baptism; the church strictly requires that it be performed publicly, in the house of God, not in private houses, except in case of real necessity; as when a child is weak, and cannot without endangering itself be brought to church. But notwithstanding this strict order of our church, in most places in this country, baptism is altogether administered in private houses, and scarce any (if any) baptized in the church. If this may be allowed, away with the fonts in your churches; what do they signify? to what purpose are they there? If all the authority I am invested with can do it, I will see this lamentable abuse of the sacrament of Baptism reformed.

But farther observe, that as our church strictly requires that baptism be administered in public, so it advises that it be performed (if conveniently it may be) on the Lord's day, in a full congregation of Christian people. Hear the words of the rubric.

"The people are to be admonished that it is most "convenient that baptism should not be adminis- "tered but upon Sundays and other holydays, when "the most number of people come together; as well "for that the congregation there present may testify "the receiving of them that be newly baptized into "the number of Christ's church, as also because in "the baptism of infants every man present may be "put in remembrance of his own profession made to "God in baptism."

I take leave to add, that it is most for the interest of the infant to be so baptized, that it may have

the benefit of the united prayers of a full Christian congregation, which is much to be valued. Methinks there should be no need of urging this to parents, that have any real love or affection to their children: this would incline them to desire that themselves, which the church desires of them. Remember, I beseech you, that your children are to be but once baptized; and what is but once done, ought to be well done, in the best and most perfect manner.

To come to the other sacrament, the Eucharist, or holy Supper; this is the most sacred and mysterious rite, the apex, the top and perfection of Christian worship, as the ancients term it, and therefore it ought to be performed with the greatest reverence and solemnity in every punctilio of it, according to the direction of our church in her rubric to the Communion Office. But this you are especially to take care of, that you administer not the holy sacrament to persons known to be vicious and scandalous. Hear the rubric of the church to this purpose, viz.

" So many as intend to be partakers of the holy " communion, shall signify their names to the curate " at least some time the day before.——And if any of " those be an open and notorious evil liver, or have " done any wrong to his neighbours, by word or deed, " so that the congregation be thereby offended; the " curate having knowledge thereof shall call him, " and advertise him, that in any wise he presume not " to come to the Lord's table, until he hath openly de- " clared himself to have truly repented and amended " his former naughty life, that the congregation may " thereby be satisfied which before were offended, " and that he hath recompensed the parties to whom

" he hath done wrong, or at least to declare himself " to be in full purpose so to do, as soon as he conve- " niently may."

I am not ignorant, that there are some who plead for a free admission to the Lord's table of all that are members of the visible church, and not yet excommunicated; and exclaim against the exclusion of men from the holy communion, as a device and usurpation of the presbyterians and other sectaries: but these men are grossly mistaken, for you see it is the express order of our church. I add, that the same order was observed in the primitive and apostolical churches. For Justin Martyr, who flourished within forty years after the apostolic age, (i. e. after the death of St. John the apostle,) in his second Apology[b] tells us, that in his time none were admitted to the holy Eucharist, but those who lived according to the law of Christ. It is a received distinction among divines, that there is a twofold excommunication, *excommunicatio major et minor*, " the greater and " the lesser excommunication." The greater excommunication is an exclusion of a man from the communion of the church, and the public ordinances universally. The lesser excommunication is indeed in order to prevent the greater, and to bring men under the discipline and correction of the church for the amendment of their lives, that so at length they may be fit to be admitted to the holy communion.

So our church informs us in her rubric to the Communion Office, where the minister, repelling any from the communion, is required " to give an ac- " count thereof to the ordinary within fourteen days

[b] [i. e. the first Apology, (§. 66.) according to the later editions.]

" after at the farthest; and the ordinary shall pro-
" ceed against the offending person according to the
" canon." So much for the administration of the holy sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

V. I come to the fifth and last part of the pastoral office, viz., visiting the sick. For this we have an express command in the holy Scriptures, James v. 14. *Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church;* i. e. the presbyters of the church; as supposing they may not otherwise have notice of his sickness. Sick men too commonly neglect this duty; oftentimes out of fear, proceeding from an evil conscience. They look upon the minister's coming to their sick-bed, as a kind of a messenger of death, for which they are not so well prepared. But if the sick man does not send for his minister, the minister (having other notice of his sickness) ought to go to him without being sent for.

How to perform this duty towards sick men aright, our church fully directs him in her excellent Office of the Visitation of the Sick, which is so full and perfect, that there needs nothing to be added to it.

But observe farther, that it is the pastor's duty to visit his parishioners, not only when they are sick, but also when they are well and in good health; not only with common neighbourly visits, but visiting them to the purposes of salvation. He should sometimes go home to their houses, and minister to their souls in private; mildly reproving them for what faults he observes in them, admonishing them of such duties as he knows them to be ignorant of; as not coming constantly to church, not frequenting the communion, and the like. He is there seriously to call upon them, to mind them of the great concern

of their immortal souls in time to prepare for sickness and death, and the tremendous judgment that follows. Such particular private applications of the minister to his parishioners are highly useful, and will render the public ordinances more beneficial to them.

To you, my brethren of the clergy, I shall conclude all I have to say, in a short but serious and affectionate exhortation.

1. In the first place, and above all things, follow after holiness, *without which no man shall see the Lord.* Holiness is a qualification indispensably required in every Christian, and that *sub periculo animæ*, "as he hopes to be saved," and to see the face of God in heaven. And can it be imagined that a minister of God should be saved without it? Nay, he is obliged to holiness in a double capacity, both as a Christian and as a minister. As a minister, his calling obliges him to be almost perpetually conversant about holy things; which he profanes, if he be not himself an holy person. He profanes God's holy worship, his holy word, and his holy sacraments; and God will most certainly and severely punish such profaners of his sacred things.

Nay, a minister of God is obliged to an exemplary holiness. Epiphanius tells us, that the duty of the laity is, Τὸ σύμμετρον καὶ τὸ συγγνωστὸν, *a more moderate measure of piety*, suited to their capacity, and tempered with a greater indulgence and mercy. But from the clergy is expected ἡ περὶ πάντων ἀκριβολογία, *a more exact and accurate course of life in all things.* And St. Paul speaks to the same purpose, when he charges Titus to shew himself *in all things an example* or pattern *of good works*, Titus ii. 7.

For every pattern must be excellent and extraordinary, and such as is worthy of imitation. This the people will expect from us, that we should go before them, and lead them on to virtue and piety by our example. And however they fail in other civilities, they will be sure generally to observe this piece of good manners, they will readily give us the precedence in the way to heaven, and be content to follow us at a very humble distance. So that our conversation must be somewhat extraordinary, if we expect by our example to bring them up to the ordinary and necessary measures of piety, and we shall hardly be able to do well, unless we ourselves do somewhat excellently.

2. Be diligent, very diligent, in the business of your calling; for it is a laborious calling, that will not admit of ease and idleness. I speak especially to the younger clergy; ply your studies, give yourselves to reading, chiefly the holy Scriptures, and the writings of learned men that have explained them to you.

The exhortations of St. Paul to Timothy are full to this purpose: *Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine. Meditate upon these things; give thyself wholly to them; that thy profiting may appear to all.* 1 Tim. iv. 13, 15. Consider, I beseech you, what kind of person he was whom St. Paul thus exhorts: he was one, who from a child knew the holy Scriptures; one that had the gift of prophecy, and was endued with extraordinary and even miraculous gifts. This man St. Paul earnestly calls upon to be diligent in reading and study; what need then have we, even the best of us, of this diligence, who are so very far short of his accom-

plishments! In a word, an idle person in any calling whatsoever is very contemptible; but an idle and lazy parochial priest is of all mortals the most contemptible and inexcusable. What! so much business, and that of so great importance as the salvation of men's souls, and yet idle? For the Lord's sake shake off sloth, rouse up and bestir yourselves in the business of your calling, remembering that the souls of your people, and your own souls, are at stake.

3. And lastly, Be much and often in prayer to God, especially in private prayer. Content not yourselves with reading prayers at church, but take care also that there be daily prayers in your families, at least morning and evening; and some time every day retire to your studies, and there, upon your bended knees, earnestly beseech Almighty God to have mercy on you, to direct and assist you in your studies, and to give you good success in your labours. Pray for the souls of the people committed to your charge; pray for your own souls, that *while you preach to others, you yourselves may not be castaways.*

If you do these things, if you adorn your holy profession with an holy conversation, if you be diligent in the business of your calling, if you pray daily to God for his help and assistance, he will not fail to be with you, and to carry you through all difficulties with honour and success; and in the end your reward will be great and glorious, and an abundant compensation of all your labours. So St. Peter tells you in that excellent text, 1 Peter v. 2, 3, 4, with which I shall conclude, *Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight*

thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock. And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.

And now a word or two to you my brethren of the laity.

First, Give honour and respect to your pastors for the Lord's sake, whatever their personal defects may be; (which you are to overlook, and not, like cursed Cham, delight to pry into the nakedness of your fathers;) their character and office calls for this from you. The contempt of the clergy at last redounds to the contempt of all religion. So our Saviour tells you, speaking of his apostles, and in them of their successors, *He that despiseth you despiseth me; and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me.*

Secondly, Be strictly just in paying them their dues: that little they have, let them have in quiet. Do not put them to vexatious lawsuits, to the disturbance of their studies, and thereby to your own loss. You will take it ill to be called thieves, and yet such you are; yea, guilty of the worst of thefts, sacrilege. For by denying ministers their dues you rob God, as God himself tells you, Mal. iii. 8. *Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and offerings*, &c. If any poor minister be oppressed and injured in this kind, I will be a patron to him, stand by and defend him.

In the last place, one word to you that are churchwardens. Remember you are upon your

oaths; do not therefore for fear or favour of men perjure yourselves, i. e. damn your own souls. The office of a churchwarden, to which he is sworn, is not so difficult as some men make it; an honest man may easily discharge it; for it is only to be honest, and present matters according to the best of his skill and knowledge.

DISCOURSE III.

CONCERNING THE SPIRIT OF GOD IN THE FAITHFUL; HOW AND IN WHAT MANNER IT DOTH BEAR WITNESS WITH THEIR SPIRITS, THAT THEY ARE THE CHILDREN OF GOD; AND WHAT DEGREE OF HOPE OR PERSUASION CONCERNING THEIR ADOPTION THIS WITNESS OF THE SPIRIT DOTH ORDINARILY PRODUCE IN THE FAITHFUL.

ST. PETER hath long ago observed, that in the Epistles of his brother apostle St. Paul, there are some δυσνόητα, *things hard to be understood;* which the ignorant and unlearned did in his time (as indeed there are some such that still do so in our time) *wrest to their own destruction*, 2 Pet. iii. 16. And he seems in that place, if it be heedfully considered, to have a special respect to St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which indeed hath more of those δυσνόητα, or difficult passages, than any other of his Epistles. Such is his discourse of justification by faith without works, which runs throughout the Epistle, which was abused even in the apostolic age to a dangerous kind of solifidianism by the Gnostic heretics; against whose perverse interpretation St. James afterwards wrote his Epistle as an antidote.

And indeed St. Paul himself expounds himself in another Epistle very plainly to the same purpose, viz. Gal. v. 6. *In Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love.* From whence it is evident,

that by the faith to which he attributes justification, he means not an idle faith, but a working faith, attended with works of love both toward God and our neighbour; and consequently, that the works he excludes from justification are not evangelical works, or such as are done in and proceed from faith in Christ; but only, first, works of perfect obedience, or sinless works, there being none such to be found among the sons of fallen man: or, secondly, works done in the strength of the Mosaic law, without the grace of the Gospel: or, thirdly, the works of the ceremonial law, such as circumcision, sacrifice, and the like: or, fourthly and lastly, all manner of works whatsoever, as far as they are relied on as meritorious causes of our justification or salvation: there being but one only cause of that kind, viz., the meritorious obedience and sufferings of our dear Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Of this sort also are the discourses of St. Paul concerning the conflict between the law of the mind, and the law of sin in the members, in the same men, chap. vii. and concerning the irrespective love and hatred of Jacob and Esau, and of the obduration or hardening of Pharaoh, chap. ix. and of the bondage and redemption of the whole creation, chap. viii. 19—22. And such also is that passage, upon which I shall found my present discourse concerning the witness of the Spirit in the faithful, chap. viii. 16. *The Spirit beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.* A passage almost in every man's mouth, but rightly understood by very few, yea by too many dangerously mistaken and abused.

In handling whereof I shall endeavour, with all

the plainness and clearness I can, to pursue and resolve these two inquiries:

First, How and in what manner the Spirit of God in the faithful doth bear witness with their spirits, that they are the children of God.

Secondly, What degree of hope or persuasion concerning their adoption this witness of the Spirit doth ordinarily produce in the faithful.

I. First then I am to inquire, How and in what manner the Spirit of God in the faithful doth bear witness with their spirits, that they are the children of God.

I answer, first, negatively; not by an immediate oracle, voice, or whisper within them, in express words pronouncing their pardon and acceptation with God, or saying that they are the sons of God, after the manner our Saviour told the man sick of the palsy, *Son, be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee*, Matt. ix. 2, or as Nathan the prophet said to David, *The Lord hath put away thy sin*, 2 Sam. xii. 13. This is a vain imagination, and as dangerous as it is vain, it being apt to lead some good men into despair, as not finding any such whisper within them; and to expose others to presumption and the delusion of the evil spirit. Such a vocal testimony of the Spirit is nowhere promised in Scripture, and therefore not to be expected by us; though it is possible God may to some persons, and in some extraordinary cases, give it. But that St. Paul means not any such vocal testimony of the Spirit is evident from hence, that this vocal testimony would be the immediate testimony of the Spirit alone, whereas the apostle speaks of a testimony of the Spirit concurring and adjoining with the testimony of our spirits, i. e. our minds or

consciences; συμμαρτυρεῖ· our minds and consciences therefore have a part and share in giving this testimony; i. e. our consciences give this testimony by and with the Spirit within us. In what manner, I am to shew in the affirmative, to which I proceed.

2. Therefore affirmatively, the Spirit witnesseth that we are the sons of God. (1.) By those gracious fruits and effects which it hath wrought in us, which when we discern and perceive, we do or may from thence conclude that we are the sons of God, those fruits and effects being the sure badge and livery of his children. (2.) By enlightening our understandings, and assisting the faculties of our souls, as need requires, to discern those gracious fruits and effects which he hath wrought in us.

(1.) The first way whereby the Spirit of God witnesseth that we are the sons of God, is by the gracious fruits and effects which the Spirit hath wrought in us. The Spirit of God in person is not the immediate suggester of this conclusion, that we are the sons of God; but the Spirit in the fruits and effects of it is the medium or argument from whence we ourselves draw it. St. Paul tells us in the very same chapter, Rom. viii. 9, *If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.* Now how shall we know that we have the Spirit, but by the fruits of it in ourselves? And what are the fruits of the Spirit? St. Paul describes them, Gal. v. 22, 23, *The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; against such there is no law.* Where, when among the fruits of the Spirit the apostle reckons χαρὰ, *joy*, the best interpreters understand him to mean, not that joy or peace of conscience, which is the result and reward

of duty, but a joy which is itself a duty, and a duty respecting our neighbour; for of that nature are all the rest of the graces there mentioned by St. Paul. For it is immediately subjoined to love, and after it are added several other virtues, which all have reference to our neighbour; and therefore it is altogether improbable that this joy, being placed in the midst of those virtues, should respect any other than our neighbour. And then by *joy*, we must understand either that joy which a man takes in the good things of his neighbour, or that virtue whereby a man studies to create and cause joy to his neighbour, or to gratify and please him in all his actions, for his good and edification. But this by the way. When therefore I find these fruits of the Spirit within me, *love*, *joy*, *peace*, &c., I may conclude, that I am the son of God, and accepted by him; and this comfortable conclusion, though it be made by myself, yet is due to the Spirit of God, from whom all those gracious arguments of my comfort proceed; and therefore it may well be said to be attested or witnessed by the Spirit of God, in concurrence with my spirit, mind, or conscience.

Thus St. John most plainly expounds St. Paul, 1 John iv. 13, *Hereby we know that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit.* So that the Spirit doth not immediately tell us this, but we come to understand it by perceiving that we have the Spirit, i. e. the fruits of the Spirit in us.

Hence the Spirit of God in Scripture is called ἀρραβὼν, God's *earnest*, 2 Cor. i. 22, *who* (that is, God) *hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.* Now an earnest is *pars pretii pro toto spondens*, "part of a sum, given in

"assurance of receiving the whole afterwards." So the Spirit of God within us is given us by way of earnest, to assure us that in due time we shall receive from God all those other good things, and that full glory and bliss, which he hath promised us; always provided we keep our earnest, and do not throw it back to the giver, or by resisting the motions of the Spirit, provoke him to take it again from us. The fruits of the Spirit are also called σφραγὶς, God's *seal*, in the same place, and likewise Ephesians i. 13, where the Ephesians are said to be *sealed with that holy Spirit of promise*. In which words St. Paul alludes to the custom of men, who use to set their seals upon those things which they would mark for their own. And thus the fruits of the Spirit are said to be God's seal, because by them we know ourselves to belong to God, and to be in his favour. When therefore we find that we love God above all things, and value his favour more than all the world, and that our greatest care is how we may glorify God and serve him in this life; that we love our neighbour sincerely, and are ready to do him all the good that lies in our power; that we bear no malice to any man, yea and can forgive our very enemies; that we are strictly just in all our dealings, and are ready to relieve the distressed according to our abilities; that we study mortification, and to deny our fleshly lusts, and make conscience of every thing we know to be sin; that we delight in religious exercises, especially in prayer; that we have something within us continually crying Abba, Father, and inclining us in all our wants, necessities, and distresses, to have recourse to our God by humble supplication, and to depend and trust on him for help and relief; and finally, that

we can bear afflictions with submission to God's will: by these things, as by the fruits of the Spirit, we know that we have the Spirit, and consequently that we are the sons of God, and heirs of salvation.

Indeed the Christian's comfort is every where in Scripture founded on those graces and good things which the Spirit of God hath wrought within him. Thus St. Paul most plainly tells us upon what foundation he built the peace, joy, and comfort of his mind, 2 Cor. i. 12: *Our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, we have had our conversation in the world.* The joy and peace of his mind arose from that testimony, which his conscience gave him of his integrity and sincerity. Thus the Spirit of God in the fruits and effects of it did witness with his spirit, that he was a good man, and accepted in the sight of God, i. e. a son of God. And the same method of consolation he prescribes to others, Gal. vi. 4: *Let every man prove his own work, and then he shall have rejoicing in himself.* We can have no true and solid joy but what arises from within ourselves, and proceeds from a thorough proof, trial, and examination of our hearts, and finding things right and well there. This matter of comfort, though it be within ourselves, yet is it not of or from ourselves, but is the fruit of the Spirit, an effect of the grace of God; and so the glory of all at last redounds to him. But still from within ourselves we must fetch our comfort.

They are therefore false apostles and teachers, and betrayers of the souls for whom Christ died, who teach for sound, yea the only Gospel doctrine, that

we are not to seek our consolation from within ourselves, i. e. that we are not to fetch our comfort from the graces within us, or the duties performed by us; that this is to dishonour free grace, and to set up our own graces and duties in the room of Christ's righteousness. But as you love your souls, avoid and take heed of these men, and of this doctrine, for it leads to perdition, and hath been, I doubt not, one main cause that hath contributed to the ruin of multitudes of men.

It is true indeed, we are not to build our comfort and hope of salvation upon our graces and duties, as meritorious of salvation. For the only meritorious cause thereof is the obedience, sufferings, and death of our dear Redeemer, and only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Nor are we to take comfort from our graces and duties, as purely our own, i. e. as wrought in us, or done by us, merely by our own strength; for we have no strength of our own in spiritual things; but it is God that works in us both to will and to do. Indeed this would be to glory in ourselves, and not in the Lord; to rob God and his grace of their due honour; to fetch our comfort, not from the grace or Spirit of God, but from corrupt nature and the powers of it, which whoso doth, let him be *anathema*. But to derive our comfort from the graces within us, as the fruits of God's Spirit, freely given us in Christ Jesus, to cherish our hopes by those duties, as conditions without which our Lord Christ hath declared he will never save us, this is not only lawful, but our duty; this we not only may, but must do; and if we seek for solid comfort and peace of conscience in any other way we shall never find it.

And thus I have explained to you the first way whereby the Spirit of God doth witness with our spirits, that we are the sons of God, or in a state of salvation, viz., by those blessed graces and fruits which he works in us.

(2.) The second way by which the Spirit of God witnesseth with our spirits that we are the sons of God, is by enlightening our understandings and strengthening the powers of our minds, as occasion requires, to discern those gracious fruits and effects which he hath wrought in us. It would be but little comfort to us, that the characters of God's Spirit are written upon our minds, if we ourselves do not arrive to the knowledge of them. Now this is the case of many Christians of great piety, but of weak understandings; they have the fruits of the Spirit flourishing in them, but take no satisfaction from thence, because they do not perceive and discern them. When therefore it is of use and expediency to them, that they should have a better knowledge of themselves, the Spirit of God is pleased to shine upon their understandings, and raise and strengthen the faculties of their souls to an apprehension and lively sense of those graces which he hath wrought in them, that they may receive comfort and satisfaction from them. How and after what manner he doth this, I dare not undertake to tell; but though the manner of it cannot be explained, yet the thing itself is certain, and ought not to be denied.

That Spirit of God, which in the first beginning of things moved upon the face of the great deep, and invigorated the chaos, or dark and confused heap of things, and caused light to shine out of that dark-

ness, can with the greatest ease, when he pleases, cause the light of divine consolation to arise, and shine upon the dark and disconsolate soul. And this he often doth. I may here appeal to the experience of many good Christians, who sometimes find a sudden joy coming into their minds, enlightening their understandings, dispelling all clouds from thence, warming and enlivening their affections, and enabling them to discern the graces of God shining in their brightness, and to feel them vigorously acting in their souls; so that they have been after a sort transfigured with their Saviour, and wished with St. Peter that they might always dwell on that mount Tabor.

And indeed we ought, in these happy intervals, when our understandings are thus irradiated and enlightened, to make a judgment of the state and condition of our souls in the sight of God, and not to take our estimate of it when our understandings are eclipsed, and we are overshadowed with a dark cloud of sadness and melancholy.

Thus I have largely shewn the way and manner how the Spirit of God doth witness with our spirits, that we are the children of God; viz. 1. By the fruits of the Spirit, or those graces which he works in us. 2. By enlightening our understandings and strengthening the faculties of our minds, if need be, to see and discern those graces, and thence to make a right conclusion concerning our hopes of salvation. Though this latter operation of the Spirit I do not think to be meant by St. Paul, in the passage I have grounded this discourse upon, at least not principally. For he seems to speak of a standing permanent witness of the Spirit, that is always in all the faithful; and that can be no other than the habitual grace of God within

them. Whereas that operation of the Spirit, in irradiating our minds to discern the things of God within us, is a transient occasional act, not always to be found in the faithful, but only in their extraordinary exigencies and necessities.

In this way of explanation, and in no other, it is easy to understand the concurrence of God's Spirit and our spirit in this witness or testimony, that we are the sons of God, and so heirs of salvation, and what part each of them hath therein. The Spirit of God hath the main and principal part; for it is that Spirit which produces those graces in us, which are the evidence of our adoption: it is he that, as occasion requires, illuminates our understandings, and assists our memories, in discerning and recollecting those arguments of hope and comfort within ourselves. But then our spirits or understandings have their share in this testimony too. For God's Spirit *συμμαρτυρεῖ*, doth witness, not without, but with our spirits and understandings, so that our spirits concur and cooperate, and act their part in this matter too. How? We make use of our reason and understanding in considering and reflecting upon those grounds of comfort which the Spirit of God hath wrought in us, and from them draw this comfortable conclusion to ourselves, that *we are the sons of God.* This witness or testimony is given, not by a direct immediate suggestion, either of God's Spirit or our own, but in a rational and argumentative way. For it being certain from Scripture, that whosoever hath the fruits of the Spirit, or those graces which none but the Spirit of God can work, is in the favour of God; a good Christian, by considering and reflecting on himself, finds that he hath those fruits of the

Spirit, and from thence he draws this certain conclusion, that he is in the favour of God.

Thus the witness of the Spirit appears to be not an unaccountable enthusiasm, as some have made it, but a sober rational testimony. The right understanding of this is of great use to settle the minds of many good but weak Christians, who are infinitely perplexed in their thoughts about the witness of the Spirit within them. They sadly complain of their want of it, when indeed they have it, because they do not rightly understand what it is. They expect some secret impulse or suggestion of the divine Spirit telling them directly that they are *the children of God*, and missing of this, (which indeed God hath nowhere, that I know of, promised,) they are in a disconsolate afflicted condition. They look for comfort only and immediately from the Spirit of God, while their own spirits are wholly inactive and idle; i. e. they do not make use of their reason and understanding, in gathering comfort to themselves, from those grounds of comfort which the Spirit of God hath wrought in them.

We may very fitly apply the words of St. Paul, borrowed from Moses concerning the righteousness of faith, to the assurance of faith, Rom. x. 6, 7, 8: *The righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise, Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring down Christ from above:) or, Who shall descend into the deep? (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead.) But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart.* So here do not seek after an oracle or immediate revelation, or expect that a voice from heaven should assure thee, that thou who

art a true believer, and a sincere penitent, art in a state of grace and favour with God; for the resolution of the case is nigh unto thee, and even within thee, and to be sought after no farther than in thine own heart and conscience. If thou perceivest that thou dost believe in the Lord Jesus Christ with all thine heart, with a faith working by love, love to God, and love to thy neighbour, thou mayest as certainly conclude thou art in a state of salvation, as if a voice from heaven had told thee so.

And so much of the first thing propounded, The manner how the Spirit of God doth bear witness with our spirits, that we are the children of God.

II. I am next to shew you what degree of hope or persuasion concerning their adoption, the witness of the Spirit doth ordinarily produce in the hearts of the faithful. And here again to this inquiry I answer both negatively and affirmatively.

1. Negatively. The witness of the Spirit doth not ordinarily produce in the faithful that highest degree of persuasion, which amounts to a plerophory or absolute and full assurance of his salvation, excluding all doubt thereof. A full assurance of salvation is that which very few of the best of Christians can boast of. Indeed this seems not expedient in any man but him that is near the end of his race, that having fought a good fight perseveringly against the world, the Devil, and the flesh, is now ready to go off the stage, and to take his crown of glory, the reward of his laborious combat; which seems to be the case of St. Paul, 2 Tim. iv. 6, 7, 8: *For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth*

there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day.

It is the opinion of very learned interpreters, that St. Paul was warned by an oracle or revelation from heaven of his near approaching martyrdom, after the manner that St. Peter was, 2 Peter i. 14: *Knowing that I must shortly put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath shewed me.* St. Paul being thus *ready to be offered*, i. e. to suffer martyrdom for Christ's sake, and having, through the whole course of his past life, had experience of the grace of God carrying him through a multitude, an infinite variety of sufferings, with honour and victory, was assured that he should not fail in this last act, but that the same grace would complete his former victories with a crown of martyrdom. This assurance was necessary in him at this time to support him in his last trial, and there was now no danger that he should abuse it. But before this, when the blessed apostle was farther off from the end of his race and combat, he speaks in a more doubtful manner, 1 Cor. ix. 27: *I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest that by any means when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway*, i. e. a reprobate. St. Paul cannot be supposed at that time, when he wrote this, to be absolutely certain of his salvation. Indeed such an assurance, as I said before, seems no way expedient for any man who is yet in the midst of his combat with the adversaries of his soul, the Devil, the world, and the flesh; because it would be apt to betray him to security. The case in this particular is much the same, between the life of our bodies and

the salvation of our souls. If divine Providence should give any man an absolute assurance of a very long life, he would be apt to neglect the means of his health, and to take no care for the preserving of his life: so if God should give a man beforehand assurance of his perseverance to the end, and so of his salvation, it would probably make him careless and negligent in the use of the means appointed for his perseverance, i. e. watching and praying.

2. I answer affirmatively. And the affirmative I will lay down in these following propositions:

(1.) The witness of the Spirit of God doth ordinarily produce in the faithful such a degree of hope and persuasion of their adoption, as shall render their lives in some measure comfortable, and free from tormenting fears and anxieties, and such as shall be sufficient to encourage them in the discharge of that duty which God requires of them.

(2.) The degrees of this comfortable hope and persuasion in the faithful are ordinarily proportioned to the degrees of their other graces.

The graces of the Spirit within us, as I have already shewn, are the evidences of our titles to heaven: and therefore the greater and stronger our habitual grace is, the greater and stronger evidence we have of our title to glory.

This grace is the great *witness of the Spirit* within us, testifying that we are *the children of God*, and so *heirs of salvation;* and consequently the greater this grace is, the greater and clearer witness we have of our adoption. And, on the contrary, the witness and evidence of our adoption must needs be darker and more obscure, as this grace is weaker and more imperfect in us. And therefore as the

characters of the Holy Spirit in our souls are more or less apparent and legible, so will our hope and comfort be greater or lesser.

Indeed sometimes he that hath a lesser degree of grace, may have a greater measure of comfort; because perhaps in the circumstances wherein he is, he needs it; as being under some heavy pressing outward affliction, which, were he not supported by a greater measure of inward comfort, would be apt to sink and crush him. Or perhaps he is a man of a stronger and clearer understanding, or an happier temper and constitution of body, and so better qualified to take comfort from those grounds of comfort that are within him, than another who yet hath arrived to a greater perfection in grace and virtue than himself. But regularly, ordinarily, *et cæteris paribus*, the more grace the more comfort. The more strictly we walk with God in the ways of holiness, the greater will be the peace and satisfaction of our minds. And accordingly we may observe in Scripture a very close connection between hope and holiness. Thus the Holy Ghost, describing the exemplary piety of the primitive Christians, tells us, that they *walked in the fear of God, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost*, Acts ix. 31. A seemingly incongruous couple, fear and joy, fear and hope, or comfort. But indeed these two are so far from being inconsistent, that they can hardly be separated. The more a man fears to offend God, and the greater his care is to please him, the greater his hope and comfort will be. The more we fear, the less reason we have to fear; i. e. if we fear God, we need not fear any thing else. In this fear we are safe and secure, and all the powers of hell cannot hurt us.

(3.) The Spirit of God doth always administer some degree of hope to all the faithful, so much as is sufficient to keep them from despair.

Some degree of hope is absolutely necessary to preserve the very life and being of our other graces. It is in this sense also the Christian's true motto, *Dum spiro, spero;* "He hopes as long as he lives "and breathes." And if ever his hope should utterly fail him, his spiritual life would expire and cease, and all his other graces would languish and die with it. And therefore the Spirit of God never fails to give some degree of hope to all the faithful.

Indeed it is possible for the hope of a good Christian to be at so very low an ebb, that he may think himself to be in despair, but indeed he is not so; there is some degree of hope still left in him, which, though he himself cannot discern, yet another that is a diligent observer may perceive, in his earnest desire of God's grace and mercy, in the conscience that he still makes of committing any sin that he knows to be such, and his endeavour to do that which he thinks to be his duty to the best of his power, and in his requesting the prayers of good people to God for him. For to what purpose doth he these things, if he were indeed fully resolved in himself that his case is desperate, if he had not some degree of hope yet remaining in him?

Thus some have been known, in a melancholy fit, to think they have lost all faith, and seriously to accuse themselves of downright infidelity, and an utter disbelief of the Articles of the Christian religion, and thereupon have been plunged into horrible fears, perplexities, and agonies of mind; whereas these very fears are a plain demonstration that they are

not guilty of that infidelity, the supposal whereof is the cause of their fears. For if they had no belief at all of the matters of religion, they could not be so much troubled for their unbelief. For how can a man possibly be troubled for not believing that, which he is fully resolved and really persuaded in his own mind is false, and so ought not to be believed?

In like manner some men think themselves void of all hope, and that they are guilty of utter despair, when their own actions at the same time plainly declare the contrary. But yet to be thus next door to despair is a very sad condition, though it may be safe. And, God be thanked, the instances of good men in this pitiable estate are comparatively very rare. And where they are found, it commonly appears that much of their misery is to be attributed to an excess of melancholy in their natural temper and constitution; and much to the false notions of religion which they have imbibed and sucked in from those unlicensed, unlearned, ignorant, or corrupt teachers, which perhaps, through their own wantonness and folly, they made choice of. But still the hand of God is to be acknowledged in the case, permitting them at least by such means to fall into the heaviest of afflictions and calamities in this world, for reasons best known unto himself, always wise, just, and righteous, and, as it will appear in the issue, good and gracious too.

Obj. But here it may be objected, How is the case of these disconsolate Christians consistent or reconcilable with this truth, *That the Spirit of God beareth witness with the spirit of the faithful*, &c. For whereas St. Paul, manifestly speaking of all true Christians, all that have the Spirit of God in

general, saith, that *the Spirit doth bear witness with their spirits, that they are the children of God;* these afflicted persons, whom we suppose to be true Christians, are so far from having any such thing witnessed to them, as that they are the children of God, that on the contrary they are under dreadful apprehensions of their being reprobates and castaways.

Ans. I answer, that this passage is, as many other places of Scripture of the like nature are, to be understood, not so much of the certainty or necessity of the effect itself spoken of, as of the nature of the thing, to which that effect is attributed, and its sufficiency to produce it, if not hindered by some obstacle intervening. Thus for instance, the Gospel of Christ is every where in Scripture described as a Gospel of peace, and which should cause an universal peace in the world; because, though through the corruption of men, it too generally fails of that blessed effect, yet in its own nature it is apt and fitted to produce it, and would do so, if its most strict precepts of peace and love, and most powerful motives and arguments to enforce that excellent virtue, were duly regarded and attended to. So here the Spirit, i. e. the fruits and graces of the Spirit within us, are said to testify and witness to and with *our spirits, that we are the children of God;* because in themselves wherever they are, they are a sufficient evidence of our adoption; and if by this Spirit we are not actually assured of it, it is because our own spirits are not rightly fitted and disposed to receive that evidence. So that all true Christians, even those disconsolate ones, have in themselves *the witness of the Spirit,* which St. Paul speaks of, i. e. they have

that habitual grace, which is a certain argument or testimony of their being *the children of God*; but they do not at present discern it, through the weakness and indisposition of their minds, and too often of their bodies also; which indisposition the good and gracious God will some time or other, sooner or later, remove: and the same divine Spirit, which implanted that grace in them, will in due time illuminate their understandings, to perceive and see that blessed work of God within themselves.

And now to conclude this discourse: the best advice that can be given upon the whole matter is this; Let us carefully mind our duty which the word of God hath laid before us, and then leave our comfort to our good and gracious God, who will certainly dispense it in such measure as he sees best and fittest for us. There is many a one who might have been in a much more comfortable state of mind than he is, if he had minded his comfort less and his duty more; if he had studied more the pleasing of God, than the pleasure, peace, and satisfaction of his own mind; if he had laboured more to be a true obedient child of God, than to know that he is so. Do not therefore, as the manner of some is, lie down whining and crying for comfort and assurance, in the mean while neglecting thy duty; but rise up in the name and strength of God, and set thyself in good earnest to thy duty; honestly study to know and do the will of God: take heed of defiling thy conscience with any wilful sin; call upon God for his grace by constant and daily prayer; and in this way of well-doing commit thy soul to the goodness and mercy of God in Christ Jesus; and whilst thou dost so, be assured thou art safe, and canst never miscarry. For it is as

certain that God is good and gracious, as that he is, and that therefore he will never cast off those who thus cast themselves upon him. Remember that ordinarily an abundant comfort is the reward of a fruitful piety, and therefore endeavour to *grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, 2 Peter iii. 18.

In a word, persist and persevere in thy duty, and thou canst not fail of that comfort which is convenient for thee; and to be sure, what is wanting in thy joy and comfort here, shall with infinite advantage be made up hereafter, in that *fulness of joy, and those pleasures which are at God's right hand for evermore.*

DISCOURSE V.[a]

CONCERNING THE FIRST COVENANT, AND THE STATE OF MAN BEFORE THE FALL, ACCORDING TO SCRIPTURE, AND THE SENSE OF THE PRIMITIVE DOCTORS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Written at the request of a Friend.

[b IN all the transactions between God and mankind, some promises have ever been condescended to on God's part, and some conditions have ever been required on our side, in order to obtain and preserve his favour. So it was in the state of innocency, as appears from the very original law given to man in Gen. ii. 16, 17, which was not established only with a threatening, but with a promise also annexed; and consequently was more than a mere law. So it continued after the fall, as is undeniable from those most remarkable words of God to Cain, recorded in Gen. iv. 7, and from the constant manner of God's proceeding with the patriarchs and others in the Old Testament. But then it ought nevertheless to be observed, that besides the seeds of natural religion sown in man's mind at the creation, he was also endowed with certain supernatural gifts and powers, in which his perfection chiefly consisted, and with-

[a] [See Life, p. 437.]

[b] The beginning of this MS. being wanting, that which is included between the two crotchets is added to supply the introduction, being extracted from the author's own writings.

out which his natural powers were of themselves insufficient to the attainment of an heavenly immortality; and consequently that the law of nature as considered now in fallen man, without divine revelation, and without any supernatural assistance, is much less able to confer the heavenly immortality and bliss upon them that live up to it. Since both from Scripture, and the consentient testimony of the ancient catholic writers, it is plain, as I have elsewhere shewed[c], that there was a covenant of life made with man in his state of innocence, and not (as some pretend) only a law imposed upon him; that this covenant was by the transgression of the protoplast made void both to him and his posterity; that all his posterity as such were thereby wholly excluded from the promise of eternal life made in that covenant, and consequently subjected to a necessity of death without hope of any resurrection; that as such, they are only under the obligation of the law of nature, and the dictates of common reason; that this law is not a law of perfect obedience, or a rule of perfection; that it hath not the reward of eternal life annexed; and that there is no covenant of life eternal, which God ever entered into with the posterity of fallen Adam, but that only which is confirmed and ratified in Christ, the *second Adam;* and which is by consequence the very same with the Gospel itself.

But because from what I have already written on this head, it may not be sufficiently evident to all, what the nature of this covenant of life eternal was, which God made with man in his state of integrity,

[c] Appendix ad Animad. XVII. §. 2, &c.

and what were the means proportioned to it in order to the end, I shall readily take the pains to explain the sense of the catholic church hereupon, in which I readily concur and acquiesce; and I would have it to be accounted as my own. That there was then such a covenant made with man by God, I cannot doubt in the least. I am not ignorant that the school of Socinus (which taketh too] [d] great a liberty of interpreting Scripture against the consent of the catholic church) flatly denies it, affirming the law given to Adam to have been a mere law, established only with a threatening, and no covenant, or law with a promise annexed. But the contrary is most evident. For, 1, the prohibition given to Adam, concerning the not eating of the tree of knowledge, is ushered in (which very few interpreters take any exact notice of) [e] with this express donation or grant of God, that he might freely eat of all the rest of the trees in paradise, the tree of life not excepted. Now it is certain the tree of life was so called, because it was either a sacrament and divine sign, or else a natural means of immortality; that is, because he that should have used it, would (either by the natural virtue of the tree itself continually repairing the decays of nature, or else by the power of God) have lived for ever, as God himself plainly assures us, Gen. iii. 22, 23, 24. So that the sense of this whole legislation to Adam is apparently this: "If

[d] Here the manuscript in the bishop's own hand begins.

[e] This was long ago observed by Theophilus Antiochen. l. II. *ad Autolyc.* p. 101. [c. 24. p. 366.] where, speaking of the law given to the first man, he hath these words, Ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν καρπῶν ἐσθίειν, δηλονότι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς ζωῆς, μόνου δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ τῆς γνώσεως ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ μὴ γεύσασθαι.

" thou shalt obey my commandment in not eating of " the tree of knowledge, thou mayest continue in " paradise, and freely enjoy all the other delights " thereof, not being debarred from the tree of life " itself, which thou mayest eat of, and live for ever: " but if thou transgress this my commandment, in " eating of the tree of knowledge, thou shalt cer- " tainly die." 2. The very commination itself, *in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die*, manifestly implies a promise. This consequence (whatever some idle wits have fancied to the contrary) is most firm: God threateneth death to man, if he eat of the forbidden fruit; therefore he promiseth life if he do not eat. [f] For how insignificant would have been the threatening of death to man's eating of the forbidden fruit, if he should certainly and necessarily have died, whether he had eaten or not?

However, that Adam should not have died if he had not sinned, is so manifestly the doctrine of the Scriptures, and of the church of God, both before and since Christ our Saviour's appearance in the flesh, that Pelagius of old, and Socinus in this latter age, are justly to be esteemed the most impudent of mortals for daring to call it into question. Yet because we live in an age wherein too many take the confidence *κινεῖν ἀκίνητα*, to shake the foundations of religion; and he is laughed at as guilty of a shameful *petitio principii*, that shall offer to beg any common principle of Christianity, even in a discourse with such as profess themselves Christians; I shall

[f] Supposing the observance of the law natural, which man had before received, even in his very creation, and which also obliged him to obey every positive precept that God should give him.

therefore (although I have already suggested such arguments as may satisfy the equal reader) give you a full state and resolution of this question in a few words of Grotius, in his approved book *De Satisfactione Christi*, cap. I. p. 27—31. where he thus discourseth: "For the right understanding of the "state of this question; we deny not, that man, "when he was created, was earthly, who had a cer- "tain vital power, but no vivific power, as Paul "teacheth us, 1 Cor. xv. 45, 46; and so that the "condition of his body was such, that unless God "supported it, it would have perished. But yet we "stiffly maintain, that in the decree of God he "should not have died, if he had persisted in inno- "cence. This the very nobility and eminence of "that creature evinceth, as being alone said to be "created after the image of God; that is, with un- "derstanding and liberty of will, which is the foun- "dation of his dominion over the other creatures; "for he cannot be lord of other things, who is not "lord of his own actions. This excellency therefore "above other creatures is an argument, that in the "creation of man there was designed more than a "temporary use of him. But now what is more "clear than that voice of God, *If thou eatest "thereof thou shalt die?* The act of death is here "meant, whether that should be violent or other- "wise. Therefore this very thing, to die, would not "have happened to man, if he had not happened to "sin. No less clear and general is that of Paul, "*The wages*, that is the punishment, *of sin is "death*, Rom. vi. 23. He had before said, *By sin "death, and so death passed upon all men.* He "saith, *all men*, therefore he speaks concerning the

" common end of all mankind. *By man* therefore,
" that is by the act of man, *came death*, and *by man*
" *the resurrection of the dead. As in Adam all*
" *die*, (as many as die,) *so also in Christ shall all*
" *be made alive*[g], (as many as shall be made alive,)
" 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22. Who is there, that, reading the
" words themselves, doth not presently see that this
" place to the Corinthians exactly answers to that
" to the Romans? Such a death therefore is here
" meant, as is common to the posterity of Adam,
" and out of which they rise, whosoever do rise.
" Wherefore also comparing this place with that to
" the Romans, we say that this is meant of Adam as

[g] See Rom. viii. 10, 11. On which text St. Austin thus excellently discourseth. Puto quod non expositore, sed tantum lectore opus habet tam clara et aperta sententia. Corpus, inquit, mortuum est, non propter fragilitatem terrenam, quia de terræ pulvere factum est, sed propter peccatum; quid amplius quærimus? Et vigilantissime non ait *mortale;* sed *mortuum*. Nam antequam mutetur in illam incorruptionem, quæ in sanctorum resurrectione promittitur, poterat esse mortale, quamvis non moriturum, sicut hoc nostrum potest, ut ita dicam, esse ægrotabile, quamvis non ægrotaturum. Cujus enim caro est quæ non ægrotare possit, etiamsi aliquando casu priusquam ægrotet occumbat? Sic et illud corpus jam erat mortale, quam mortalitatem fuerat absumptura mutatio in æternam incorruptionem, si in homine justitia, id est, obedientia permaneret; sed ipsum mortale non est factum mortuum nisi propter peccatum. Quia vero illa in resurrectione futura mutatio, non solum nullam mortem quæ facta est propter peccatum, sed nec mortalitatem habitura est, quam corpus animale habuit ante peccatum, non ait, *qui suscitavit Jesum Christum a mortuis, vivificabit et* mortua *corpora vestra,* cum supra dixisset, *corpus mortuum,* sed *vivificabit*, inquit, *et mortalia corpora vestra*, ut scilicet jam non solum non sint mortua, sed nec mortalia, cum animale resurget in spiritale, et mortale hoc induet immortalitatem, et absorbebitur mortale a vita. *De Peccatorum Merit. et Remiss. c. Pelagianos*, c. 4, 5.

" a sinner; for what is here said, *by man*, he there " saith, *by sin*. The animal condition of Adam is " above twenty verses after touched on by the apo- " stle upon a quite different occasion: for here death " is opposed to the resurrection; but there the " qualities of the body, as at first created, and then " as raised, are compared with each other; whereof " the one had, with the natural possibility of dying, " conjoined a possibility also of living through the " favour of God: but the other shall have life itself " after such a manner, that it shall have no natural " possibility of dying at all. I cannot forbear here " to add the notable testimony of the most excel- " lent author of the Book of Wisdom, which although " it be not in the Hebrew canon, is yet of venerable " antiquity, and was always had in esteem amongst " Christians. Thus therefore he, *For God made not* " *death: neither hath he pleasure in the destruction* " *of the living. For he created all things, that they* " *might have their being: and the generations of the* " *world were healthful; and there is no poison of* " *destruction in them, nor the kingdom of death* " *upon the earth:* (*for righteousness is immortal:*) " *but ungodly men with their works and words* " *called it to them: for when they thought to have* " *it their friend, they consumed to nought, and made* " *a covenant with it, because they are worthy to take* " *part with it*, chap. i. 13—16 [h]. And presently " after, *For God created man to be immortal, and* " *made him the image of his own* [i] *propriety. Never-* " *theless, through envy of the Devil came death into* " *the world: and they that do hold of his side*

[h] See Ecclesiasticus xxv. 24.

[i] Greek Ἰδιότητος.

" *do find it*, chap. ii. 23, 24. That the death here, " which God is said not to have created nor " willed, to wit, with a will antecedent to sin, is to " be understood of every kind of death, the ἀφθαρσία " or *incorruption* opposed thereunto sheweth, unto " the hope whereof man is said to be created; and " that hope is not obscurely intimated to have been " part of the divine image, or at least a consequent " thereof. Now incorruption excludes every kind of " death, whether violent or not. And what the " apostle said, that death entered by man and by " sin, this author had no less truly said, that death " entered by the envy of the Devil. For all these " speeches note the same fact, viz., the first sin of " man committed by the suggestion of the Devil. " Nor is that any hinderance, that the author here " notes a certain special effect of death in relation " to the wicked. For death entering by the first " sin, and having obtained a right over all men, " doth receive a certain peculiar force by the griev- " ous and continual sins of particular men; in which " sense *sin* is said to be *the sting of death*, 1 Cor. " xv. 56. Therefore they who dying are denied all " passage to a better life, are justly called the con- " federates of death, or the yielding captives (*dedi-* " *titii*), and the proper possession of death. It were " most easy to demonstrate, if that were our busi- " ness, that it was the constant opinion both of the " Jews and Christians, that every kind of death " whatsoever is the punishment of sin." Thus far Grotius.

I know these irrefragable arguments were afterwards nibbled at by Crellius the successor of Socinus and Smalcius in the chair at Cracovia; but the frivo-

lous and plainly ridiculous exceptions of the heretic are abundantly refuted by the famous Rivet, (who in this question happily proved the ὑπερασπιστὴς of Grotius,) upon the second chapter of Genesis, Exercit. 21. whither I refer you for full satisfaction. I have dwelt the longer in asserting this great truth, that Adam should never have died if he had not sinned; because this foundation being once surely laid, it will appear that the whole superstructure of the catholic doctrine concerning the state of man in his integrity, and concerning man's fall by sin, which is to be measured by the former, is firmly built thereon: which is the reason why the Pelagians formerly, and the Socinians of late, have so strenuously opposed this verity. For let it be once granted, that man, if he had continued obedient, should have enjoyed an everlasting life, any man of reason, that shall more closely consider the matter, will presently collect, that this life should not, could not in any congruity be perpetuated in the earthly paradise, and therefore the man was in the design of God, after a certain period of time, to have been translated to a higher state, i. e. a celestial bliss. And from thence it will as readily follow, that man, being designed for such a supernatural end, must be supposed gradually at least to have been furnished by God with means proportioned thereunto, i. e. with certain supernatural gifts and powers, which we commonly call *original righteousness:* both which hypotheses you will see anon to have been the doctrine of the catholic church. In the mean time let us proceed in order.

It is questioned by some, whether Adam, besides this positive law given to him, had also another law implanted in him, which the Hebrews call חקוקי בלב

the statutes in the heart, we *the law of nature*[k]. A man would think indeed, that no man in his wits should question this; yet Socinus not only questions, but flatly denies it, although the Remonstrants in their Apology (I know not with what design) endeavour to excuse and purge him from this error. But they wash the Ethiopian in vain; for any one that doubts may find this opinion professedly avowed and maintained by him in the third chapter of his Prælections. Besides, it is well known that Socinus taught that no man can by the light of nature (which it is certain he at least supposed to be the same in man before and since the fall) know that there is a God, and that this notion is due to God's revealing himself unto men. Nay, Episcopius himself, who penned that Apology of the Remonstrants, doth charge this error upon Socinus, and spends a learned and elaborate discourse in the refutation of it, so that I wonder he should so far forget himself. For if Socinus held, that no man can by the light of nature know that there is a God, then certainly he believed (or else maintained the grossest contradiction imaginable) that no man can by the mere light of nature discern any notion of religion whatsoever; seeing all notions of religion are manifestly founded on that first principle, that there is a God. This therefore is another famous specimen of the intolerable impudence of that heretic in contradicting both the Scriptures (which manifestly assert such a natural law, Rom. i. 19, 20. and chap. ii. 12, 14, 15.) and also the common sense and experience of mankind. For

[k] Κἂν τῷ ποιεῖν νόμον δέδωκας αὐτῷ ἔμφυτον ὅπως οἴκοθεν καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔχοι τὰ σπέρματα τῆς θεογνωσίας. Sic Liturgia Clementis de Adamo. *Const. Apost.* VIII. 12.

the history of the world assureth us, that *nulla gens tam barbara*, "there is no nation so barbarous," so debauched, but that therein are to be found some notions of a Deity, and of moral good and evil.

That the protoplast, if he had done any thing contrary to the dictate of this natural law, i. e. of his reason, had sinned and been liable to punishment from God, no man that considers what he says will deny. The only question therefore remaining concerning this natural law, in reference to the positive law superadded, is this, Whether man's right to immortality (and such a right we have already proved he had) was founded in this natural law, or in the positive law or covenant superadded? Or, to speak more plainly, (if possible,) Whether Adam by the observance of the law natural, if there had no positive law or covenant been superadded thereunto, could have challenged to himself a right of immortality? And this question (of great moment if well considered) will by any sober judgment be quickly resolved in the negative. For if immortality had been due to the observance of the law implanted in man from his creation, then certainly the legislation superadded, wherein that immortality was promised to man, no otherwise than upon the observance of the positive precept, would have been supervacaneous, and even absurd. In a word, the protoplast could have no right to immortality but what was founded in the gratuitous stipulation and covenant of God; or otherwise you must assert that Adam by his natural abilities could merit it. Now we read of no other stipulation or promise of life eternal made to Adam, but what is annexed to the positive law we have so long dwelt upon.

Paræus, in his Commentary upon Gen. ii. 7, propounds this question to be discussed, "Whether, "how far, and when Adam with the animal life re- "ceived also a right of life eternal[1]?" And he truly says of it, *Non est quæstio inanis*, "It is no vain "useless question." But he that reads him will find (which I speak with the reservation of all due respect to the fame and learning of the writer) that he handles the question very perplexedly, which yet is very easily resolved upon the grounds already laid, premising only these two very easy explications, which nothing but the too much subtilty of the learned man could have rendered necessary.

1. That by *eternal life* in this question is meant *a never-ending life of happiness*, (whether this life should have been continued in the earthly paradise, or only have commenced there, and been perpetuated in a higher estate, is an inquiry to be resolved anon by the judgment of the church, and very good reasons confirming the same.) 2. That by *right* is to be understood not an absolute, fixed, immutable right, for it is certain Adam had no such, for then he could never have lost it; but *jus pendens*, "a right de- "pending" upon a condition to be performed. These things being premised, an answer to each member of the threefold question is easily given. First, as to the question, whether Adam had a right to eternal life? it is answered, he had a right to a never-ending life of happiness; for we have already proved, that if he had not sinned, he should never have died. Secondly, as to the *quatenus*, or *quomodo*, how far Adam had a right, or what manner of right he had to life eternal?

[1] An et quatenus et quando Adam cum animali vita etiam acceperit jus vitæ æternæ?

it is answered, he had no absolute, fixed, or immutable right, but only a right dependent upon a condition to be performed. Lastly, as to the *quando*, when Adam received this right? it is answered, when he received the promise or covenant, and not before. Adam indeed was before δεκτικὸς capable of a blessed immortality, (as you shall hear the Fathers speaking anon,) but a right to this immortality he had not till God made it over to him by covenant. In this covenant of grace and favour, (for so in confidence of the premises I shall be bold to call it,) as the sanction did assure Adam of a reward not due to his nature, viz., a blessed immortality; so the precept dictated a religion corresponding thereunto. For this positive law (whatsoever some divines are pleased to say of it, I suppose, *oratorio more* to exaggerate the sin of Adam, (which may be proved heinous enough without this circumstance,) that it was *præceptum facillimum*) did lay no small restraint upon man's natural (and so antecedently to the precept) lawful appetites. And that first upon his sensitive appetite. For the tree that was forbidden him was a mighty temptation to the eye, and therefore it is said, Gen. iii. 6, to be תַּאֲוָה לָעֵינַיִם *a desire*, i. e. most desirable *to the eyes*, more alluring than the rest of the trees in that garden of pleasure, having indeed no rival but the tree of life [m]; which, together with it, was placed in the centre of paradise, and therefore much more exceeding any tempting delight which the earth

[m] Although that seems not to have been of so inviting an appearance, the benefit and necessity thereof sufficiently recommending it to man's use.

impoverished by Adam's sin now affords. This tree Adam must approach to and behold, as often as he had (for his necessity) a recourse to the tree of life; but touch it, taste it, he must not, under pain of death: and this was no small trial. But moreover the restraint laid upon our first parents in this one instance was, no doubt, a general intimation and hint given them, to call them from the animal to the divine life. For hereby they were admonished, that their felicity did not consist so much in those earthly pleasures, wherewith paradise abounded, (for then God would not have bound up their hands from touching the most delightful tree in that rich plantation,) as in virtue and obedience to God, wherein if they persisted, a happiness greater than all this awaited them. But, 2. This law did, in my judgment, lay a far greater restraint upon man's rational appetite. For the tree forbidden was by God himself styled *a tree of knowledge*, and it was a motive that seduced Eve, that the fruit of it was good to make one wise. The desire of knowing more is itself natural, and so lawful; and there is no desire more strong and forcible in man fallen, who is in any degree exalted above sense. To such a one it is more easy to allay the titillation of concupiscence than the itch of curiosity; nay, this busy, prying, inquisitive creature is ofttimes observed to quit all the pleasures of sense, to forget his very meat and drink, to macerate his flesh with study in the pursuit of some new discovery, which when he hath made, you shall hear him loudly proclaiming his εὕρηκα! and applauding himself no less than if he were become master of the wealth of both the Indies; so great is man's thirst after knowledge. But this desire Adam

is commanded to repress and keep within its due bounds, i. e. to acquiesce for the present in those measures of knowledge he had, to content himself with that blessed simplicity, which as the child of God he enjoyed, and therewith a happy freedom, and sported himself in paradise, as[n] Clemens Alexandrinus elegantly expresseth it, not hunting after new inventions, (Ecclesiastes vii. 29,) but waiting on God in the way of prayer and obedience, for an increase of all useful knowledge, to be dispensed as it should seem good to the divine wisdom. This precept then to Adam was a bridle to the deliciousness of his sense, and a check to the curiosity of his reason, a great experiment of his self-denial in both, and in general a call to the divine life; and so no such slight and easy precept, as some have fancied, either mistaking the first natural constitution of man, or not weighing rightly the nature of the precept itself. These seem to me to cast unawares a slur upon the divine wisdom, which was pleased to lay the main stress of the whole covenant made with the first man upon this one precept, and to suspend the great reward promised upon the performance thereof. St. Augustine's great wit easily observed this, and therefore he calls this precept, *perfectionis*

[n] Admonit. ad Gent. edit. Heinsii, p. 69. [c. 11. p. 86.] Ὁ πρῶτος, ὅτε ἐν παραδείσῳ, ἔπαιζε λελυμένος, ἐπεὶ παιδίον ἦν τοῦ Θεοῦ· ——παρήγετο ἐπιθυμίαις ὁ παῖς, ἀνδριζόμενος ἀπειθείᾳ·——Ὁ δὲ ἁπλότητα λελυμένος ἄνθρωπος, &c. Before him Theophilus Antiochenus inquiring into the reasons why God forbade man to eat of the tree of knowledge, gives this for one, ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον ἠβούλετο ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀκέραιον διαμεῖναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον νηπιάζοντα· τοῦτο γὰρ ὅσιόν ἐστιν, &c. [l. 2. c. 25. p. 367.] This seems to be the sense of that place in Ecclesiastes. Grot. in locum. Vide Phil. Jud. de Mund. Opif.

præceptum[o], "a precept of perfection," and tells us withal, that Adam was upon the receiving of this precept advanced above his natural animal condition to a spiritual state, and that he received the same, *ut consummaretur*, "that he might be perfected." Not but that he thought, that the protoplast was from his very creation itself designed to this spiritual state, and furnished with endowments accordingly, (for it was certainly St. Austin's opinion, that Adam was *creatus in gratia*, "created in grace," as the schools speak,) but that upon the receiving of this positive law, he was actually called to this estate, whereunto he was before designed, and to the exercise of those endowments, wherewith he before was furnished.

And this brings us to the very head of our inquiry, concerning the first covenant, and the state of man before the fall. The church of God then (if we may gather its judgment from the writings of the most approved doctors thereof in their several ages) hath constantly believed and asserted these two things:

1. That paradise was to Adam a type of heaven; and that the never-ending life of happiness promised to our first parents, if they had continued obedient, and grown up to perfection under that economy wherein they were placed, should not have been continued in the earthly paradise, but only have commenced there, and been perpetuated in a higher state; that is to say, after such a trial of their obedience, as should seem sufficient to the divine wisdom, they should have been translated from earth to heaven.

2. (Which is indeed a consequent of the former

[o] De Gen. cont. Manich. II. 8.

hypothesis,) That our first parents, besides the seeds of natural virtue and religion sown in their minds, in their very creation, and besides the natural innocence and rectitude, wherein also they were created, were endowed with certain gifts and powers supernatural, infused by the Spirit of God; and that in these gifts their perfection consisted. Because I see these two hypotheses are by many very learned men with too great boldness questioned, and they seem to me the two main pillars of the catholic doctrine concerning original sin, I shall give you an ample demonstration of them out of the writings of the ancients; and the many testimonies to be produced, you will, I presume, read, examine, and consider with as much patience at least, as I myself underwent the great labour of collecting them.

I begin with the first hypothesis. That paradise was to Adam a type of heaven; and that the never-ending life of happiness promised to our first parents, if they had continued obedient, and grown up to perfection under that economy wherein they were placed, should not have been continued in the earthly paradise, but only have commenced there, and been perpetuated in a higher state; that is to say, after such a trial of their obedience, as should seem sufficient to the divine wisdom, they should have been translated from earth to heaven. Which you will find confirmed by the following testimonies.

1. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* II. p. 58. [*Apol.* I. 10, p. 48.] speaking of the creation of the world, delivers not his own private opinion, but the common sense of the Christians in his time, in these words, "We "have been taught that he, (viz. God,) being good, "did in the beginning make all things out of the

" unformed matter for the sake of men, who, if by " their works they rendered themselves worthy of " his acceptance, we presume should be favoured " with his friendship, and should reign together " with him, being made incorruptible and impas- " sible[p]."

2. Tatian, the scholar of Justin Martyr, in his Oration to the Greeks, p. 152. [c. 13. p. 255.] speaking of our first parents, and shewing that the Spirit of God was familiarly conversant with their souls whilst they retained their integrity, hath these words, " The soul, having obtained a conjunction " with the divine Spirit, is not left helpless, but " ascends to those regions whither it is led by the " same Spirit: for the seat or habitation hereof is " above, but the generation of the other is from be- " neath[q]." The same Tatian in the same Oration, p. 146. [c. 7. p. 249.] speaks of the same matter more clearly thus, " For the heavenly Word, the Spirit " begotten of the Father, &c., made man the image " of immortality, in imitation of him that begat " him: that as immortality is with God, so after the " same manner man, having received a portion of " God, (viz. the divine Spirit,) might become also " immortal[r]." Where he expressly speaks of that

p Καὶ πάντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀγαθὸν ὄντα δημιουργῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης δι' ἀνθρώπους δεδιδάγμεθα· οἳ ἐὰν ἀξίους τῷ ἐκείνου βουλεύματι ἑαυτοὺς δι' ἔργων δείξωσι, τῆς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀναστροφῆς καταξιωθῆναι προσειλήφαμεν συμβασιλεύοντας, ἀφθάρτους καὶ ἀπαθεῖς γενομένους.

q Συζυγίαν δὲ κεκτημένη (ψυχὴ) τὴν τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀβοήθητος· ἀνέρχεται δὲ πρὸς ἅπερ αὐτὴν ὁδηγεῖ χωρία τὸ Πνεῦμα· τοῦ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἄνω τὸ οἰκητήριον, τῆς δὲ κάτωθεν ἐστὶν ἡ γένεσις.

r Λόγος γὰρ ὁ ἐπουράνιος Πνεῦμα γεγονὼς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ Λόγος ἐκ τῆς λογικῆς δυνάμεως, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γεννήσαντος αὐτὸν Πατρὸς μίμησιν, εἰκόνα τῆς ἀθανασίας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐποίησεν· ἵνα ὥσπερ ἡ ἀφθαρσία παρὰ

immortality which is with God, and which far exceeds that pendulous (if I may so speak) and adventitious immortality, which Adam had in the earthly paradise; and he affirms that the protoplast, if he had retained and cherished the divine portion of the Spirit given to him, should at length have attained such immortality.

3. Irenæus, the auditor of Polycarp, who was the disciple of St. John, frequently delivers the same doctrine; his constant and every where repeated opinion being this, that we recover the same happiness in the second Adam which we had lost in the first. Yet I shall give you some particular testimonies out of him also. In the very beginning of the twenty-eighth chapter of his fourth book, [c. 14. p. 243.] having immediately before told us, "That the friend-"ship of God grants immortality to them that come "unto him[s];" he goes on thus, "Therefore in the "beginning God formed Adam, not because he "needed man, but that he might have an object, "whereon to place his bounty, &c. Our service to "God doth not give any thing to him, nor doth God "need man's obedience, but he gives life and incor-"ruption, and ETERNAL GLORY to those that fol-"low and obey him[t]." And presently after, "The "Lord hath formed and prepared us for this very

τῷ Θεῷ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον Θεοῦ μοίραν ἄνθρωπος μεταλαβὼν, ἔχῃ καὶ τὸ ἀθάνατον.

[s] Amicitiam Dei immortalitatis esse condonatricem iis, qui aggrediuntur eam.

[t] Igitur initio non quasi indigens Deus hominis plasmavit Adam, sed ut haberet in quem collocaret sua beneficia, &c. Servitus erga Deum Deo quidem nihil præstat, nec opus est Deo humano obsequio: ipse autem sequentibus et servientibus ei vitam et incorruptelam et gloriam æternam attribuit.

" end, that whilst we remain with him, we should " partake of his glory. And so also from the begin- " ning he made man for his own bounty[u]."

4. Theophilus, the sixth bishop of Antioch after the apostles, lib. II. *ad Autolyc.* p. 101. [c. 24. p. 366.] " God translated him (Adam) from the earth, " out of which he was taken, into paradise, adminis- " tering to him matter or occasion of proficiency; " that increasing and being made perfect, he might " at length be canonized or consecrated, and so as- " cend into heaven itself[x]." Where, speaking to the Gentiles, he describes the designed translation of Adam from paradise to heaven, after the manner of their *ἀποθέωσις*, or consecration of an hero into the number of the gods, or celestial inhabitants.

To the same purpose he speaks a little after, p. 103. [c. 27. p. 368.] " Therefore he made him " (Adam) neither immortal nor mortal, but, as we " said before, (p. 101.) capable of either state, that " keeping the commandment of God, he might gra- " dually proceed unto, and by way of reward ob- " tain immortality from him, and so be consecrated " or canonized[y]."

5. Clemens of Alexandria, *Stromat.* VI. p. 662, 663. [c. 12. p. 788.] to this question of certain

[u] Dominus formavit et ad hoc præparavit nos, ut dum sumus cum eo, participemus gloriæ ejus. Sic et Deus ab initio hominem quidem plasmavit propter suam munificentiam.

[x] Μετέθηκε δὲ αὐτὸν (Ἀδὰμ) ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεγόνει, εἰς τὸν παράδεισον, διδοὺς αὐτῷ ἀφορμὴν προκοπῆς, ὅπως αὐξάνων καὶ τέλειος γενόμενος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Θεὸς ἀναδειχθείς, οὕτως καὶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβῇ.

[y] Οὔτε οὖν ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν (Ἀδὰμ) ἐποίησεν, οὔτε μὴν θνητὸν, ἀλλὰ καθὼς ἐπάνω προειρήκαμεν, δεκτικὸν ἀμφοτέρων· ἵνα ῥέψῃ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς ἀθανασίας, τηρήσας τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ, μισθὸν κομίσηται παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀθανασίαν, καὶ γένηται Θεός. [lege ἵνα εἰ ῥέψῃ ed. Benedict.]

heretics in his time, (whether Adam was made perfect or imperfect? if imperfect, how the work of the perfect God came to be imperfect? but if perfect, how he happened to transgress the commandment of God?) thus answers, "Let them understand even "from us, that he was not made perfect in his con- "stitution, but apt to receive (perfect) virtue: for "it is no small matter for man to be made apt or "disposed to (perfect) virtue and the enjoyment "thereof. But he would have us to be saved of our- "selves[z]." Where he plainly enough teacheth, that Adam was from the beginning not indeed made perfect, but yet endowed with the capacity (if I may so speak) whereby he might arrive to perfect virtue, and so to that eternal salvation which accompanies it. He explains his meaning more clearly presently after in pursuance of his answer to the same question in these words, "They are ignorant of the mysteries "of God, that God created man to immortality, and "made him the image of his own propriety; accord- "ing to which propriety of him that knoweth all "things, he who is endowed with knowledge and "just and holy, doth by wisdom strive to attain unto "the measure of the perfect age[a]." And therefore in another place, speaking of the end to which in the gracious design of God man was at first created, he tells us, that he was "made for the contemplation

[z] Ἀκούσονται γὰρ καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν, ὅτι τέλειος κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν οὐκ ἐγένετο, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιτήδειος· διαφέρει γὰρ δή που ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν γεγονέναι ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς τὴν κτῆσιν αὐτῆς· ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐξ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν βούλεται σώζεσθαι.

[a] Οὐκ ἔγνωσαν μυστήρια Θεοῦ· ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἔκτισεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ ἀφθαρσίᾳ, καὶ εἰκόνα τῆς ἰδίας ἰδιότητος ἐποίησεν αὐτόν· καθ' ἣν ἰδιότητα τοῦ πάντα εἰδότος ὁ γνωστικὸς καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ὅσιος μετὰ φρονήσεως εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τελείας ἀφικνεῖσθαι σπεύδει.

" of heaven, and a plant truly heavenly [b]." Yet afterwards, in the same book, p. 69. [c. 11. p. 86.] he thus writes, "O mystical miracle! The Lord is " bowed down, and man is risen; and he that fell " from paradise receives a greater reward of his obe- " dience, even heaven [c]." But these things agree very well together. For Clemens meant, that Adam was in possession only of the earthly paradise, and that from thence he fell; not denying in the mean while, but that if he had persisted in obedience, he should have been advanced to a higher felicity. And therefore others of the Fathers speak often after the same manner, whose most manifest opinion yet it is, that Adam, if he had not sinned, should have arrived to a celestial beatitude.

6. Tertullian, *de Pœnitent.* cap. XII. tells us, that Adam was " by confession or repentance restored to " his paradise [d];" manifestly shewing, that Adam was upon his repentance, by the mercy of the second covenant established in Christ the Mediator, restored to the same happiness, which he was designed to in the first covenant, and which by the violation thereof he had lost. This he expressly declares to be his opinion in his second book against Marcion, c. 4, where, speaking of the creation of Adam, he tells us, That God in his goodness having designed man for the knowledge of himself, did, before he made him, first prepare an habitation for him, even

[b] Admon. ad Gent. p. 63. [p. 80.] *ἐπὶ τὴν οὐρανοῦ γενόμενον θέαν, φυτὸν οὐράνιον ὡς ἀληθῶς.*

[c] *Ὢ θαύματος μυστικοῦ! κέκλιται μὲν ὁ Κύριος, ἀνέστη δὲ ἄνθρωπος· καὶ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου πεσὼν μείζον ὑπακοῆς ἆθλον οὐρανοὺς ἀπολαμβάνει.*

[d] Exomologesi restitutus in paradisum suum.

the great fabric of the visible world. "That in "the great fabric, as in a lesser, he might give a "proof or essay of his virtue and proficiency, and so "be advanced from the good of God, that is, the "great habitation, to God's best, that is, the greater "habitation [e]."

7. Methodius, (who is supposed to have flourished in the year of our Lord 255 [f],) in his book entitled *Concerning the things which have happened from the beginning of the world* [g], &c., about the beginning thereof, discoursing of the fall of our first parents by the temptation of the Devil, hath these words; "The "Devil seeing himself banished out of heaven, yet "remaining still in great power, bent his designs "to displease God, and in all things to oppose him. "And because he saw the first man, to wit, Adam, "placed with his wife in the earthly paradise, as in a "place of pleasure, graced with innocence, and lord "of all the beasts, fowls, and fishes, and withal, "THAT HE WAS TO POSSESS THOSE HEAVENLY SEATS "which he himself with his adherents had by pride "lost, he was greatly troubled, and envying his "happiness, designed to weaken, yea and utterly to "destroy him [h]."

[e] Ut in magna tanquam in minore proluderet atque proficeret, et ita de bono Dei, id est, de magno, ad optimum quoque ejus, id est, ad majus habitaculum promoveretur.

[f] According to the Latin translation in the Orthodoxograph. S. Patrum, p. 100.

[g] [This work is not mentioned by Lardner among those which are ascribed to Methodius, and according to Cave is undoubtedly spurious.]

[h] Videns autem Diabolus se expulsum e cœlo, in magna tamen potestate relictum, cogitavit quomodo posset displicere Deo, et in omnibus ipsi contrariari. Et quia vidit primum hominem,

8. St. Athanasius (*de Incarnatione Verbi* [i]) amongst other things worthy of observation, concerning the primordial state of our first parents, (which hereafter we may have occasion to produce,) hath these words; "He brought them therefore (Adam and "Eve) into his paradise, and gave them a law; "that if they should preserve the grace given then, "and continue obedient, they might enjoy in para- "dise a life without grief, sorrow, or care; besides, "THAT THEY HAD A PROMISE ALSO OF AN IMMOR- "TALITY IN THE HEAVENS[j]." Where he doth not mean that they had an express promise of such immortality; but that in the general promise, that if they continued obedient they should live for ever, a promise of such immortality was really in God's intention, and necessarily in the reason and nature of the thing included; which is most certain.

The same Athanasius a little after affirms, p. 57, that if the protoplast had kept the similitude of God entire, "he should have been afterwards made incor- "ruptible, and consecrated to a celestial life [k]."

9. St. Basil, (*Homilia dicta in Lacizis*, tom. I.

Adam scilicet, cum sua uxore in terrestri paradiso collocatum, scil. in locum voluptatis, innocentia decoratum, ac omnium bestiarum volatilium et piscium dominum, nec non possessurum in cœlo sedes, quas ipse cum sibi adhærentibus per superbiam amiserat, doluit vehementer: et invidens ejus fœlicitati, proposuit ipsum debellare et totaliter interficere.

[i] P. 56. edit. Paris. 1627. [c. 3. p. 50.]

[j] *Εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ γὰρ παράδεισον αὐτοὺς εἰσαγαγὼν, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς νόμον· ἵνα εἰ μὲν φυλάξαιεν τὴν χάριν, καὶ μένοιεν καλοὶ, ἔχωσι τὴν ἐν παραδείσῳ ἄλυπον καὶ ἀνώδυνον καὶ ἀμέριμνον ζωὴν, πρὸς τῷ καὶ τῆς ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀφθαρσίας αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἔχειν.*

[k] *Ἄφθαρτος ὢν ἔζη λοιπὸν ὡς Θεός.* [c. 4. p. 51.]

p. 468. edit. Paris. 1638,) describing in a florid discourse the envy of the Devil, occasioned by the very great felicity of man in his first estate, hath these words; "He saw that the man-loving God was not "content with his enjoyment of this earth, but that "he chose him as his proper delight, darling, and "ornament, and placed him in paradise. The Devil "dealt maliciously when he saw the affluence of "enjoyments, wherewith man was surrounded; the "angels attending him as his tutors and guardians, "and God himself discoursing with him with his "own voice, and in the same tongue or language; "and the infant child on every side educated and "instructed, that he might grow up into the simili-"tude of God. When, I say, he understood and saw, "that the Lord had called man, that silly animal, to "a dignity equal with that of angels, training him "up by virtue and sobriety of life to the perfection "of his soul, he fell through envy[1]," &c. He expresseth the same thing as fully, although in fewer words, in his Homily entitled, *Quod Deus non est Author Mali*, tom. I. p. 370. thus, "(The Devil,) see-"ing himself cast down from the angelical society, "could not endure to see the son of the earth (Adam)

[1] Εἶδεν ὅτι οὐκ ἠρκέσθη ὁ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς τῇ τῆς γῆς ἀπολαύσει, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐξαίρετον ἐνδιαίτημα, τὸ ἴδιον ἐγκαλλώπισμα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἑαυτοῦ βουλόμενος εἶναι, κατέστησεν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον. ἐπονηρεύσατο ὁ Διάβολος ὁρῶν πολλὴν ἀπόλαυσιν περιῤῥέουσαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· ἀγγέλους παιδαγωγοὺς παρεδρεύοντας αὐτῷ· Θεὸν ὁμόγλωσσον γινόμενον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, διαλεγόμενον ἀπὸ ἰδίας φωνῆς· πανταχόθεν τὸν παῖδα τὸν νήπιον παιδευόμενον, ἵνα εἰς Θεοῦ ὁμοιότητα ἀναδράμῃ· ἐπειδὰν κατέμαθε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐπειδὰν εἶδεν ὅτι τὸ μικρὸν τοῦτο ζῶον πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων ὁμοτιμίαν ὁ Κύριος προεκαλεῖτο, διὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνάγων αὐτὸν, καὶ διὰ σωφροσύνης τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐπὶ τὴν τελείωσιν τῆς ψυχῆς, λείπει.

" lifted up or exalted by proficiency in virtue to the " dignity of angels[m]."

The authors hitherto alleged are such as lived before the unhappy Pelagius was born to trouble the church of God, and therefore their testimonies are the more considerable. And I can safely say, that I have not yet met with any approved author living before Pelagius (although I have read some others of that antiquity, beside the writers produced) who is of a contrary opinion. Nay, the ancient primitive church was so certain of this truth, that she inserted the article into her public offices and prayers. For in the Liturgy of Clemens, (the most ancient now extant, and certainly elder than the Pelagian heresy by one whole age at least,) in the prayer of consecration of the Eucharist, we read these words concerning Adam, " When thou broughtest him into " the paradise of pleasure, thou gavest him free " leave to eat of all the other trees, and forbadest " him to taste of one only FOR THE HOPE OF BETTER " THINGS; that if he kept the commandments, he " might receive IMMORTALITY as the reward of his " obedience[n]."

If we come now to the doctors of the church that flourished after the Pelagian heresy arose, (as a comet portending direful effects to the Christian world,) it is confessed that they all maintained the same hypothesis: so that it would be a superfluous

[m] Ὁρῶν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀγγέλων καταρριφέντα, οὐκ ἔφερε βλέπειν τὸν γῆϊνον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τῶν ἀγγέλων διὰ προκοπῆς ἀνυψούμενον.

[n] Constit. Apost. VIII. 12. Εἰσαγαγὼν δὲ εἰς τὸν τῆς τρυφῆς παράδεισον, πάντων μὲν ἀνῆκας αὐτῷ τὴν ἐξουσίαν πρὸς μετάληψιν, ἑνὸς δὲ μόνου τὴν γεῦσιν ἀπείπας ἐπ' ἐλπίδι κρειττόνων· ἵνα εἰν φυλάξῃ τὴν ἐντολὴν, μισθὸν ταύτης τὴν ἀθανασίαν κομίσηται.

labour to shew the conveyance of this tradition through the several ages succeeding. Yet for our fuller satisfaction, I shall produce some testimonies also out of those authors, that are known to have been the chiefest antagonists of Pelagius; such as St. Augustin, Prosper, Fulgentius, and Petrus Diaconus.

10. St. Austin (lib. I. *de Peccat. Merit. et Remiss.* cap. 3. [vol. X. p. 3.]) thus elegantly, as his manner was, discourseth, "For if God made the garments "and shoes of the Israelites not to wax old for so "many years, what wonder is it, if such a power "were given to man obedient, that having an ani- "mal and mortal body, he should yet have a certain "state therein, whereby it might last for a great "number of years without decay; being himself, in "God's due time, to pass from mortality to immor- "tality, without death intervening[o]?"

11. Prosper (*contra Collatorem*, cap. 18. [c. 9. p. 327. ed. 1711.]) in the very beginning hath these words, "It were a sin to doubt of this, that the first "man, in whom the nature of all men was con- "created, was made upright and void of all sin, and "that he received such a liberty of will, as that, if "he forsook not God assisting him, he might con- "tinue in those good things which he had naturally "received, because he would; and by the merit of

[o] Si enim Deus Israelitarum vestimentis et calceamentis præstitit, quod per tot annos non sunt obtrita; quid mirum si obedienti homini ejusmodi potentia præstaretur, ut animale ac mortale habens corpus, haberet in eo quendam statum, quo sine defectu esset annosus, tempore quo Deus vellet, a mortalitate ad immortalitatem, sine media morte, venturus? Vide lib. XIII. *de Civitat. Dei*, cap. 1. et cap. 19. prope finem, where he asserts this doctrine to be *de fide catholica*. [The words are, *quod fides* Christiana *prædicat.*]

" voluntary obedience arrive to that bliss, wherein " he neither would nor could fall away [p]."

12. Fulgentius (*ad Petrum Diac.* Epist. XVII. c. 12. [p. 299. ed. 1684.]) layeth down certain principles of catholic doctrine, *firmissime credenda*, " most firmly to be believed" by every man that hath not a mind " to bear the name of a Christian " in vain, yea to his own damnation [q];" (the severity of which expression I approve not applied to all that which follows,) and amongst them this is one, " The good and just Creator prescribed to that man, " whom he created in an animal body, and enriched " with the gift of understanding and righteousness, " a condition on both sides just and equal, viz., that " if he kept his obedience, which is the prime virtue, " he should from the animal quality of the body, " wherein he was created, pass without the death of " the body (because without any sin in his soul) to a " spiritual and immortal state; and should have re- " ceived by the divine gift, if he had kept the com- " mandments, not only a perfect and never-failing " immortality of the body, but also such a grace in " the soul, of living holily and righteously, that from " thenceforth he should not at all be able to sin, if " he did not sin whilst he was able [r]."

[p] Rectum atque omni vitio carentem creatum esse hominem primum, in quo omnium hominum concreata natura est, dubitare fas non est, eumque tale accepisse liberum arbitrium, ut si auxiliantem sibi Dominum non desereret, posset in bonis, quæ naturaliter acceperat, perseverare, quia vellet; et merito voluntariæ perseverantiæ in eam beatitudinem pervenire, ut nec vellet decidere in deteriora, nec posset.

[q] Christianæ religionis inaniter, imo damnabiliter portare vocabulum.

[r] A bono justoque Creatore illi homini, quem in corpore ani-

Lastly, Petrus Diaconus (*de Gratia Christi*, cap. 6.) speaks the same thing in fewer words, "Death "and immortality were after a sort put into the "hands of man's free will and choice: for he was "capable of both; so that if he kept the command- "ment, he should become immortal without tasting "death; but if he despised it, death should pre- "sently follow[s]."

I have made choice of these allegations out of a great abundance that might have been produced, because they are not only so many testimonies of what the catholic church of old thought in this controversy, but also suggest very evident reasons whereby the thing in question (laying aside the authority of the writers themselves) may be easily demonstrated. The reasons are two:

1. There is nothing more certain, as I have already shewn, than that our first parents, if they had never sinned, should never have died. Nor is it less certain, that the immortality, which obeying God they should have enjoyed, whilst they dwelt in this earth, and in the animal and earthly body, would

mali conditum ditavit intelligentiæ ac justitiæ dono, justa est utrimque statuta conditio, ut scil. si obedientiam, quæ primaria virtus est, custodiret, ex animali in qua creatus erat corporis qualitate ad spiritualem immortalemque statum sine corporis morte (quia sine animæ iniquitate) transiret, accepissetque divino munere, si præcepta servasset, non solum perfectam atque inamissibilem corporis immortalitatem, verum etiam in anima talem gratiam sancte justeque vivendi, ut peccare deinceps omnino non posset, si non peccaret, donec peccare potuisset.

[s] Erat mors et immortalitas in ejus (Adami) posita quodammodo arbitrii libertate. Capax enim erat utriusque rei, ut si servaret præceptum, sine experientia mortis fieret immortalis: si vero contemneret, mors continuo sequeretur.

have been adventitious, and above (yea in some sort against) nature, that is, the natural tendency of such a body, and such as would have needed an extraordinary and peculiar care and providence of God for its sustentation. Now seeing we find, that the most wise God hath so ordered and appointed the course of things, that nothing which is violent useth to be perpetual, it necessarily follows, that our first parents, after they had given an experiment of their obedience, for such a space of time as God should think fit to appoint, should at length have passed into such a state, wherein the animal quality of their bodies being wholly laid aside, they should have possessed a natural, internal, and never-failing immortality; that is, an immortality properly so called. Read again the testimonies of Tatian, Theophilus Antiochenus, &c., St. Austin, Prosper, Fulgentius, and Petrus Diaconus.

2. It seems most absurd to affirm, that man, being a creature endowed with liberty of will, and so capable of reward and punishment according to his good or ill behaviour, should presently upon his creation have obtained his ultimate end. It was necessary, no doubt, that man should first be a *viator*, as the schools speak, and then a *comprehensor;* be put *in stadio*, "in the race," before he arrived *ad metam*, "to the goal;" and, in a word, give a specimen of his virtue and obedience before he received his reward. The first man therefore had not obtained his ultimate felicity, when presently upon his creation he was placed in the earthly paradise, but was only put in such a state, wherein (matter and occasion of proficiency being on every side ministered to

him) he might tend, and by degrees proceed and go forward to a farther and higher beatitude. This reason all the testimonies we have alleged universally insinuate. The coldness therefore and indifferency of Grotius in this question is no way commendable, who speaking of Adam hath these words: "What God would have done with him if he had "continued obedient, I dispute not; I willingly leave "every man to his own judgment in this matter[t]." For certainly it is very unreasonable, that every man should be allowed the liberty of opining as he pleaseth, in a question already determined by so universal a consent of the catholic doctors, and that too upon reasons so evident.

Let us now proceed to the demonstration of the other hypothesis, viz., That our first parents, besides the seeds of natural virtue and religion sown in their minds, in their very creation, and besides the natural innocence and rectitude wherein also they were created, were endowed moreover with certain gifts and powers supernatural, infused by the Spirit of God; and that in these gifts their perfection consisted.

This indeed, as I have already noted, is a consequent of the former hypothesis; for the means ought to be proportioned and suited to the end. If therefore our first parents had been designed only to a natural, i. e. earthly felicity, a supernatural gift would have been useless, or at least unnecessary to them; for "a means of a superior order is in vain

[t] *Votum pro Pace*, p. 19. Quid de eo facturus fuisset Deus, si obedire perstitisset, non disputo; libenter hac in re suum cuique relinquo judicium.

" required for the obtaining of an inferior end[u]." And so on the contrary, if the protoplasts be supposed to have been designed to a supernatural, i. e. celestial bliss, it necessarily follows, that they were furnished with powers suited to the obtaining of such an end; that is, supernatural. Yet because all men perhaps are not able to discern the necessity of this consequence, and because this latter hypothesis is chiefly questioned by learned men, I shall not refuse the labour of proving this assertion also out of the writings of the ancients, and that somewhat more copiously than I have done the former.

Justin Martyr, who flourished "in the first suc-" cession of the apostles[x]," and that about the middle thereof, in his Epistle to Diognetus, p. 502. [c. ult. p. 240.] speaking of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and the tree of life, said to be planted together in the midst of paradise, and giving an allegorical sense of the text, hath these remarkable words: "For those things are not without significa-" tion which are written, that God in the beginning " planted the tree of life in the midst of paradise, " pointing out the way to life by knowledge; of " which knowledge our first parents not making a " holy use, were by the imposture of the serpent " stripped and divested. For neither is there life " without knowledge, nor sure or certain knowledge " without true life, and therefore both (trees) were " planted near together[y]." There is nothing more

[u] Ad finem inferiorem frustra assumitur medium ex ordine superiori.

[x] Ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ διαδοχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων. [Eus. E. H. III. 37. By "the middle thereof" is probably meant the middle of the second century.]

[y] Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄσημα τὰ γεγραμμένα, ὡς Θεὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ξύλον ζωῆς ἐν

evident, than that the blessed martyr, by the knowledge he here attributes to the first man in the state of integrity, means not mere natural reason, or any effect thereof, but some supernatural gift or effect of the Spirit. For, 1. He speaks expressly of such a sure and certain knowledge, which retained, is inseparably accompanied with true, that is, eternal life. 2. He affirms Adam to have been stripped or divested of this knowledge by his sin [z]. But sure the protoplast did not by his sin lose his reason, or cease to be a man. 3. The very metaphor the Father useth of being stripped, or divested, shews he speaks of something extrinsical and adventitious to the nature of man, such as is a garment to the body; and not of any thing essential or natural to man. But what need of many words? They that are any whit acquainted with the language of antiquity, know very well, that *γνῶσις* and *φρόνησις* among the Greek Fathers, and *cognitio* and *sapientia* among the Latins, when attributed to man in the state of integrity, are constantly used to express that whole complexion of supernatural virtues (of which, divine illumination or knowledge is the leading grace) wherewith he was in that state adorned, and to which, being lost through sin, he is restored by the Spirit in regeneration. See Col. iii. 10.

Tatian, the scholar of Justin, explains his master's meaning very clearly in many places of his oration against the Greeks. Thus, p. 146, 147. [c. 7.

μέσῳ παραδείσου ἐφύτευσε, διὰ γνώσεως ζωὴν ἐπιδεικνύς· ἣ μὴ καθαρῶς χρησάμενοι οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, πλάνῃ τοῦ ὄφεως γεγύμνωνται· οὐδὲ γὰρ ζωὴ ἄνευ γνώσεως, οὐδὲ γνῶσις ἀσφαλὴς ἄνευ ζωῆς ἀληθοῦς· διὸ πλησίον ἑκάτερον πεφύτευται.

[z] Philo Judæus Alleg. l. II. p. 70, says, that our first parents were after their sin *γύμνοι σοφίας*.

p. 249: "After that men had followed a certain "(spirit) more subtle and cunning, because of "greater age and experience than the rest, and "held him for a god, that opposed himself to the "divine law; then the POWER OF THE WORD de- "prived both the author of this madness, and the "men that followed him, of his familiarity and "friendship; and he that was made after the image "of God, that more POWERFUL SPIRIT withdrawing "from him, became mortal[a]." So p. 150. [c. 12. p. 253.] he declares the common doctrine of the Christians in his time, in these words: "We (Christ- "ians) acknowledge two kinds of spirits, whereof "the one is called the soul, the other is more excel- "lent than the soul, as being the very image and "similitude of God; now both these were given to "the first men[b]." Where by *the first men* he undoubtedly means Adam and Eve, but he names them not, as speaking to the heathens, that were ignorant of the history of the creation delivered by Moses. Again, p. 152. [c. 13. p. 255.] he hath these words: "The Spirit was at the beginning familiar to the "soul, but because it would not follow the Spirit, it "was forsaken by it. So that now the soul, al- "though it still retain as it were a certain fuel, apt

[a] Καὶ ἐπειδή τινι φρονιμωτέρῳ παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὄντι διὰ τὸ πρωτόγονον συνεξηκολούθησαν, καὶ θεὸν ἀνέδειξαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ τὸν ἐπανιστάμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, τότε ἡ τοῦ Λόγου δύναμις, τόν τε ἄρξαντα τῆς ἀπονοίας, καὶ τοὺς συνακολουθήσαντας τούτῳ, τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ διαίτης παρητήσατο· καὶ ὁ μὲν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγονὼς χωρισθέντος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ δυνατωτέρου, θνητὸς γίνεται.

[b] Δύο πνευμάτων διαφορὰς ἴσμεν ἡμεῖς, ὧν τὸ μὲν καλεῖται ψυχή· τὸ δὲ μεῖζον μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς, Θεοῦ δὲ εἰκὼν καὶ ὁμοίωσις· ἑκάτερα δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπῆρχεν.

" to be kindled by the power of the same Spirit, yet " by reason of the withdrawing thereof, not being " able throughly to discern the things that are per- " fect, in seeking after the one God, it hath framed " to itself many gods [c]." To conclude our testimonies out of this most ancient writer, p. 153. [c. 15. p. 256.] of the same oration, he expresseth this matter briefly yet fully in these words: " It remains " that we now seek and endeavour after the reco- " very of that again, which we once had, but lost, " viz., the conjunction of our souls with the holy " Spirit, and a union with God [d]."

Irenæus (lib. v. cap. 6.) professedly undertakes to prove that the first man was not made a perfect man, or according to the likeness of God, by a reasonable soul and a human body only, without the addition of a third principle, viz., the divine Spirit. Where amongst many other things he hath these words: " When the Spirit is mingled with the soul, " and (both) united to the body, by the effusion of " the same Spirit man becomes spiritual and perfect; " and this is the man that was made after the image " and likeness of God. But if the Spirit be wanting " to the soul, he that is such is indeed animal and " carnal, and being so left is imperfect [e]." Presently

[c] *Γέγονε μὲν οὖν συνδίαιτον ἀρχῆθεν τὸ Πνεῦμα τῇ ψυχῇ· τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα ταύτην ἔπεσθαι μὴ βουλομένην αὐτῷ καταλέλοιπεν· ἡ δὲ ὥσπερ ἔνανσμα τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ κεκτημένη, καὶ διὰ τὸν χωρισμὸν τὰ τέλεια καθορᾶν μὴ δυναμένη, ζητοῦσα τὸν Θεὸν, πολλοὺς θεοὺς ἀνετύπωσε.*

[d] *Καὶ χρὴ λοιπὸν ἡμᾶς ὅπερ ἔχοντες ἀπολωλέκαμεν, τοῦτο νῦν ἀναζητεῖν, ξευγνύναί τε τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, καὶ τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν συζυγίαν πραγματεύεσθαι.*

[e] Cum Spiritus commixtus animæ unitur plasmati, propter effusionem Spiritus, spiritualis et perfectus homo factus est: et hic est qui secundum imaginem et similitudinem factus est Dei. Si

after having reckoned up these three principles, the body, the soul, and the divine Spirit, he adds, "the "mixture and union of all these together make up "a perfect man[f]." Where if any man be stumbled at Irenæus's affirming, that he who is void of the Spirit is but part of a man, not a perfect man, let him remember, that man may be considered in a double order or relation:

1. In relation to the natural, animal, and earthly life. And so he is a perfect man, that hath only a reasonable soul and a body adapted thereunto; for the powers and faculties of these are sufficient to the exercise of the functions and operations belonging to such a life.

But, 2. Man may be considered in order to a supernatural end, and as designed to a spiritual and celestial life; and of this life the Spirit of God is the principle. For man's natural powers and faculties, even as they were before the fall entire, were not sufficient or able of themselves to reach such a supernatural end, but needed the power of the divine Spirit to strengthen, elevate, and raise them thereunto. He that denies this, opposeth himself against the stream and current of the holy Scriptures, and the consent of the catholic church, and must betake himself into the tents of Pelagius. Therefore to the perfect constitution of man, considered in this relation, a reasonable soul and a body adapted thereunto are not sufficient; but there is necessarily re-

autem defuerit animæ Spiritus, animalis est vere, qui est talis, et carnalis derelictus imperfectus erit, &c.

[f] Commixtio autem et unitio horum omnium perfectum hominem efficit.

quired a union of the divine Spirit with both, as it were a third essential principle. This, as it is a certain truth, so it is a great mystery in Christianity, which would deserve a larger discourse for its explanation than this place will admit of. We therefore proceed. The same Irenæus, (lib. iii. cap. 37.) [c. 23, 5. p. 221.] by a fiction of person, introduceth Adam after his fall thus acknowledging his sin and misery: "That robe of sanctity or holiness which "I had from the Spirit, I have lost by disobedi- "ence, &c.[g]"

The author of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* (whoever he were) speaketh thus, c. iii. §. 11. p. 296: "Mankind having from the beginning fallen through "foolishness FROM THE DIVINE GOOD THINGS, re- "ceived a life obnoxious to many passions, and which "was to be terminated in death and corruption[h]. Therefore Adam had, beside his naturals entire, certain divine good things, which he lost to himself and us by his sin and folly.

Tertullian (*De Patientia*, cap. 5.) tells us that Adam upon his sin "was no longer wise to God, was "no longer able to bear heavenly things[i]." Therefore before he sinned he was endowed with a divine wisdom, and capable of heavenly things, and so was not in a merely natural or animal state and condition. But we need not thus pick out the meaning of the Father from such single expressions dropping

[g] Eam quam habui a Spiritu sanctitatis stolam amisi per inobedientiam, &c.

[h] Τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν ἀρχῆθεν ἀπὸ τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν ἀνοήτως ἐξωλισθήσασαν, ἡ πολυπαθεστάτῃ ζωὴ διαδέχεται, καὶ τοῦ φθοροποίου θανάτου πέρας.

[i] Desivit Deo sapere, desivit cœlestia sustinere posse.

from him by the by, for he expressly and fully owns this doctrine, (*De Baptismo*, cap. 5,) where, speaking of the regeneration of man by baptism, he hath these words: "Thus man is restored to God, and "to his likeness, who was before made after God's "image, &c. For he receives again the Spirit of "God, which he then had by his inspiration, but "afterwards lost by sin[k]."

Cyprian (*De Bono Patientiæ*) delivers the same doctrine in these words: "He shews and teaches "the regenerate to be then consummated, when the "patience of God the Father remains in us, when "the divine similitude, which Adam lost by his sin, "is manifested and shines in our actions. What a "glory is it to be made like unto God! What and "how great felicity, to have those virtues, which may "equal the divine praises[l]!" Where he manifestly places the perfection of that divine similitude, which Adam had, but lost by his sin, in those divine and supernatural virtues, to which we are restored by the heavenly birth, and which we receive from Christ the second Adam. Afterwards, in the same sermon, he tells us, that "Adam being impatiently desirous "of the deadly food, against the heavenly com-"mandment, became liable to death; nor did he by

[k] Ita restituitur homo Deo ad similitudinem ejus, qui retro ad imaginem Dei conditus fuerat, etc. Recipit enim illum Dei Spiritum, quem tunc de afflatu ejus acceperat, sed post amiserat per delictum.

[l] Sic consummari ostendit et docuit cœlesti nativitate reparatos, si patientia Dei Patris maneat in nobis, si similitudo divina quam peccato Adam perdiderat, manifestetur et luceat in actionibus nostris. Quæ gloria est similem Deo fieri? Qualis et quanta felicitas, habere in virtutibus quod divinis laudibus possit æquari? [p. 248.]

" patience keep THE GRACE RECEIVED FROM GOD [m]." So in his seventy-fourth Epistle, *ad Pompeium*, he interprets the words of the Scripture spoken of Adam, Gen. ii. 7, *And God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life*, concerning the grace of the Holy Ghost infused by God into the first man. Which exposition is followed by very many others of the Fathers.

Nor is it so absurd a gloss, as at first appearance it may seem to be. For these Fathers meant not this so [n], as if Adam in the insufflation did not receive his soul, or the principle of his natural life, but that this was not all that he then received. For they believed, that together with his soul, or the principle of his natural life, he received also the grace of the holy Spirit, as a principle of the divine life, to which he was also designed; that is, that God did not send the pure and immaculate soul of the first man unto his body naked, but stamped all the προσγινόμενον ἁγίου Πνεύματος χαρακτηριστικὸν ἰδίωμα that Clemens Alexandrinus speaks of, i. e. " the characteristical " propriety of the holy Spirit superadded [o]." Thus St. Basil expressly comparing the divine insufflation upon Adam with that of Christ, John xx. 22, upon the apostles, tells us [p], that it was the same Son of God " [q] by whom God gave the insufflation, then in- " deed together with the soul, but now into the soul."

[m] Adam contra cœleste præceptum cibi lethalis impatiens in mortem cecidit: nec acceptam divinitus gratiam patientia custode servavit. [p. 253.]

[n] In which sense alone St. Austin opposeth this interpretation as grossly absurd. *De Civit. Dei*, XIII. 24.

[o] Strom. VI. p. 681. [c. 16. p. 808.]

[p] Lib. V. con. Eunom. 119. [vol. I. p. 304.]

[q] Δι' οὗ Θεὸς δέδωκε τὴν ἐμφύσησιν· τότε μὲν μετὰ ψυχῆς, νῦν δὲ εἰς ψυχήν.

And this is no more than what many of the [r]schoolmen affirm, that Adam was *creatus in gratia*, "created in grace," i. e. received a principle of grace and divine life from his very creation, or in the moment of the infusion of his soul, of which for mine own part I little doubt. For we find this notion not only in the ancient writers of the Christian church, but to have been known also to the church of the Jews in our Saviour's time, and before; and supposed by them to be the recondite sense of the text before alleged out of Gen. ii. I will give you a most illustrious testimony for this out of Philo Judæus, who lived near the time of our Saviour, yea part of it, and who seems to me to have first opened the rich treasure of the more mysterious learning of the Jews, and to have exposed it in the common tongue to the knowledge of the Gentiles; although, I confess, with the addition of some dross of his own.

Thus therefore he, discoursing upon the forementioned text, Gen. ii. 7: "These words do also discover "a certain secret of nature. For there are three "things here required, the thing inspiring, the thing "that receives the inspiration, and the thing received "by the inspiration. That which inspires is God, "that which receives the inspiration is the mind, and "the thing received by the inspiration is the Spirit. "What therefore is the result of this? There is a

[r] Ab initio creationis virtus, quæ vitam ministrat, simul cum Spiritus S. ingressa erat in hominem, ut hæc creatura foret secundum imaginem Dei, quasi unus reciperet utrumque. Nam impossibile est, ut intellectus noster gestet imaginem Dei, si non fuerit illuminatus a Spiritu S. etc. Igitur anima a primordio suæ creationis vitalem vim et Spiritum S. pariter nacta est. *Procop. ad cap.* I. *Genes.* p. 42. *edit. Tigur.*

" union of these three things, whilst God doth exert " from himself a certain power, which by nerves " of the Spirit reacheth to the subject receiving it. " And to what other purpose, than that hereby we " might attain the notion of him? otherwise how " could the soul have known God, unless himself " had first inspired and touched it according to its " capacity? For the mind of man durst not have " aspired so high, as to attempt the knowledge of " God's nature, unless God himself had raised it " up to himself, as far as it was capable of being so " raised [s]." In these words the whole of that, which the Christian writers assert concerning the state of the first man, is comprehended. For here, 1. We have beside and above the τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, or highest natural faculty of man, his mind, a faculty superadded, viz., of the divine Spirit. For that the νοῦς here signifies the τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, appears from the express words of Philo presently following, "The ruling and " highest faculty of the soul is the mind; this only " God inspires [t]." 2. It is affirmed here, that Adam received this divine principle in his very creation, at the same time when his natural soul was breathed into him. 3. He tells us, that the first man had

[s] Allegor. l. I. p. 47. Ἐμφαίνει δέ τι καὶ φυσικώτερον ἡ προφορά. τρία γὰρ εἶναι δεῖ· τὸ ἐμπνέον, τὸ δεχόμενον, τὸ ἐμπνεόμενον· τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐμπνέον, ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός· τὸ δὲ δεχόμενον, ὁ νοῦς· τὸ δὲ ἐμπνεόμενον, τὸ Πνεῦμα· τί οὖν ἐκ τούτων συνάγεται; ἕνωσις γίνεται τῶν τριῶν, τείνοντος τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν διὰ τοῦ μέσου Πνεύματος ἄχρι τοῦ ὑποκειμένου. τίνος ἕνεκα, ἡ ὅπως ἔννοιαν αὐτοῦ λάβωμεν; ἐπεὶ πῶς ἂν ἐνόησεν ἡ ψυχὴ Θεὸν, εἰ μὴ ἐνέπνευσε καὶ ἥψατο αὐτῆς κατὰ δύναμιν; οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐπετόλμησε τοσοῦτον ἀναβραμεῖν ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς, ὡς ἀντιλαβέσθαι Θεοῦ φύσεως, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἀνέσπασεν αὐτὸν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, ὡς ἐνὴν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν ἀνασπασθῆναι.

[t] Ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικόν ἐστιν ὁ νοῦς· τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐμπνεῖ ὁ Θεός.

this divine principle given to him, that thereby he might be raised to the saving knowledge of God, which otherwise he could not have reached unto by his natural powers. Put these things together, and what do they amount to more or less than what the Christian writers have taught us, viz., that Adam in his very creation received a supernatural principle in order to a supernatural end; and that this is the mystical sense of those words, Gen. ii. 7.

Nor did this notion drop from Philo unawares, or by the by, or was screwed out of the text to serve his present purpose; for he frequently inculcates the very same thing, not only in his Allegories, but in his other writings. And it were easy to allege other Jewish writers delivering the same notion with Philo. Hiskuni in his commentary tells us, that "God did "with his own inspiration, which is the Holy Ghost, "breathe into man [u]." And it will be apparent to any man that considers that this is the very meaning of the threefold distinction of the powers of the soul, frequently occurring in the Jewish rabbins, into נפש the *living soul*, רוח the *spirit* or the rational soul, and נשמה the *inspiration* or the divine *afflatus*, which Adam received in his creation. For although some of the latter rabbins, too ignorant of the degeneracy of man's nature by Adam's sin, and divers learned men, as Drusius, Grotius, and others, being misled by them, tell us that *Nesama* in this distinction signifies no more than the intelligent or rational soul, yet it is manifest enough from what hath been said, that the *Nesama* signifies some supernatural power distinct from and above the highest

[u] Cum inspiratione sua, quæ est Spiritus Sanctus, inspiravit Deus in hominem.

natural faculty or power in man, the same with the Πνεῦμα in Philo, and that the τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, or highest natural faculty in man, is in this distinction comprehended in the word *Ruach* or *Spirit*. If it be objected, that the ancient Jews and Christians did groundlessly imagine this sense in the text forementioned, because after the mention of the insufflation it presently follows, *and man became a living soul*, intimating that this was all the man received by this insufflation, the answer is easy, that this argument, if it proves any thing, proves too much, viz. that, the first man by the divine insufflation received no more than what is in every brute, viz., a living soul. But all sober divines acknowledge, that there was given to man in the insufflation something more than such a soul, viz., an intelligent and rational soul. And why not then this intelligent soul, impressed with the divine character, and touched with the virtue of the Holy Spirit, as the ancient Jews and Christians generally believed, taught this (I little doubt) from the prophetic Cabala, which being first received among the Jews was from them derived into the Christian church? It hath been observed by many learned interpreters, both ancient and modern, that Moses in the history of the creation meddles not with things spiritual and incorporeal, (and therefore wholly omits the creation of angels,) but describes only such things as fall under sense. And so accordingly in this instance, having mentioned the divine insufflation into the first man, in the following words he describes only the more sensible effect of that insufflation, viz., that thereby the dead lump of man's body was animated and empowered to the actions of life and sense. But he

that should hence imagine that this was the entire effect of that insufflation, would thereby discover himself to be a very dull soul, and really as brutish as he fancies the very first man to have been made. Moreover in these words, *and man became a living soul*, is signified, that the effect of this insufflation as to the body of man was only this, that thereby it received the animal life, and so was in its own nature mortal, as the bodies of the other animals are, and that it had not yet received that vivific power in itself, whereby it was made immortal and incorruptible, as our bodies in the resurrection shall be, as St. Paul discourseth, 1 Cor. xv. 42, of which more anon.

He that shall attend to these things will be easily persuaded, that the notion of Irenæus above mentioned, asserting that man is not perfect in his constitution, without the divine principle of the Spirit, was no idle fancy, or dream of his, but a real, although mysterious, truth, as being acknowledged by the wiser Jews before Christ, and from them derived into the Christian churches planted by the apostles. For he means no more than this, that man void of the Spirit wants the *Nesama*, (as the latter rabbins speak,) or the Πνεῦμα, (as Philo termeth it,) which the first man received in his creation, in order to a supernatural life. And perhaps from hence also you may gather the right sense of those words of St. Paul, 1 Thess. v. 23, where speaking to Christians, (who are supposed to have recovered that in the second Adam which they had lost in the first,) he mentions these three principles in them, the *Spirit*, the *soul*, and the *body*. Indeed many learned interpreters tell us here, that St. Paul alludes to the

threefold distinction of the soul, into the *vegetative*, the *sensitive*, and the *rational*, and so that the *Spirit* in St. Paul signifies no more than the τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, or *mind*. But it seems plain to me, that the apostle meddles not with the threefold faculty of man's soul, (for what hath the body to do in that distinction?) but rather describes the threefold principle of the *compositum*, if I may so speak, of a Christian, (which St. Paul calls the ὁλόκληρον,) who besides his body and soul, which make him a perfect natural man, hath also the Πνεῦμα, the Spirit, (that Philo speaks on,) to render him a perfect man in order to a supernatural life.

It is a weak argument that Didymus of old objected against this interpretation: "It is incredible "and even blasphemous to imagine, that the apo- "stle should pray that the Spirit might be pre- "served entire, (in the Thessalonians,) who is not "capable either of mutation or augmentation[x]." For I beseech you, doth not the same apostle tell us, that the Spirit may be *grieved*, Ephes. iv. 30, yea and *quenched*, 1 Thess. v. 19? And is it not manifest, that in those texts he speaks of the divine Spirit, or some effect thereof? The meaning therefore of the apostle in such cases is clearly this, that the divine Spirit given by God must be carefully preserved and cherished by prayer and obedience to his dictates, and avoiding every thing that is offensive to him, or else God may justly, and will certainly deprive us of the same. And thus Irenæus[y] inter-

[x] Incredibile atque blasphemum, orare apostolum ut Spiritus S. integer servetur, qui nec immutationem potest recipere nec profectum.

[y] Lib. V. 6.

prets the place under consideration; and thus the Greek Fathers generally by the Spirit understand the χάρισμα, or *gift*. Read carefully Grotius's annotation upon the place. Nay, St. Paul seems to interpret himself very expressly in another place, viz., Eph. iv. 23, exhorting the Ephesians[z] *to be renewed by* (for so I would translate it, and not *in*) *the Spirit of their mind*. Where Chrysostom gives us this paraphrase of the words, *by the Spirit which is in their minds*[a]. Modern interpreters indeed tell us, that the apostle by *the Spirit of the mind* means no more than *the Spirit which is the mind*. But who sees not how flat and dull an interpretation this is? Is it not much more reasonable to imagine, that the apostle, being a Jew, and trained up at the feet of Gamaliel in the more mysterious Jewish learning, speaks here the language of the wiser and more learned Jews that were before him? Now they, as we have seen, beside and above the νοῦς or highest natural faculty in man's soul, believed another principle necessary in order to a supernatural life, viz, the divine Spirit; and that this divine Spirit immediately affects only the νοῦς, (and so is fitly termed Πνεῦμα τοῦ νοὸς,) being from thence derived into the inferior faculties, as we but now heard out of Philo. I say it is very reasonable thus to interpret the text, especially seeing it is manifest that St. Paul, in discoursing of other mysteries of the Christian religion, and those of the greatest importance, hath the same common notions and phrases too with Philo and other Jews which were before him; which I could easily demonstrate in many

[z] Ἀνανεοῦσθαι τῷ Πνεύματι τοῦ νοός.

[a] Τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ ἐν τῷ νῷ.

instances, if this were a proper place for it. By the help then of this Spirit in their minds, the apostle exhorts the Ephesians to be *renewed*, or to *put on the new man*, i. e. to acquire those gracious qualities of righteousness and true holiness, wherein that new man consists, which (he adds) was created *after God*, that is, *after God's image*, according to which the first man was made, who had in his creation given him that Spirit, that *Nesama* in his mind, but lost it by his sin and folly [b].

In a word, that the first man in his creation received the Spirit of God, and that in order to a celestial life, or the attainment of the beatific vision, (which is the doctrine of the ancient Christian writers,) the same Philo in another place expressly teacheth. For in his book (*de Mundi Opificio*, p. 33.) speaking of Adam before his fall, he hath these most remarkable words: "Having much of the divine "Spirit flowing in upon him, he studied both to do "and speak all things so as to please his Father and "King, treading on his footsteps in that highway of "virtue, which was chalked out unto him, and in "which those souls alone may walk, whose aim and "end it is to attain at length an assimilation to that "God that begat them [c]." Here we have Adam

[b] It is the same thing the apostle means in the phrase Πνεύματι τὰς πράξεις τοῦ σώματος θανατοῦν, Rom. viii. 13, where it is manifest from the whole context, that by *the Spirit* is meant the divine Spirit, or the Spirit of Christ. See especially ver. 16.

[c] Πολλοῦ ῥυέντος εἰς αὐτὸν τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος, πάντα καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ἐσπούδαζεν εἰς ἀρέσκειαν τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ Βασιλέως, ἑπόμενος αὐτῷ κατ' ἴχνος ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἃς ὡς λεωφόρους ἀνατέμνουσιν ἀρεταί· δι' ὧν μόναις ψυχαῖς θέμις προσέρχεσθαι, τέλος ἡγουμέναις τὴν πρὸς τὸν γεννήσαντα Θεὸν ἐξομοίωσιν.

supposed in his creation to be furnished with supernatural powers, viz., a copious measure of the divine Spirit, and that in order to a supernatural end, the being made like unto God, which is attainable only by the beatific vision. And I know not where we can find in the writings of the Christian doctors a testimony more clearly asserting the truth I contend for, than this of Philo.——You will now, I presume, easily pardon this large digression, being in itself not unuseful, and being also necessary to remove a stone of offence, often cast in the way of the reader that converseth with the writings of the ancient Fathers.

Nay moreover I shall persuade myself, that from this one instance (among many) you will learn from henceforth the modesty of submitting your judgment to that of the catholic doctors, where they are found generally to concur in the interpretation of a text of Scripture, how absurd soever that interpretation may at first appearance seem to be. For upon a diligent search you will find, that *aliquid latet, quod non patet*, "there is a mystery in the bottom;" and that what at the first view seemed even ridiculous, will afterwards appear to be a most important truth. Let them therefore, who reading the Fathers are prone to laugh at that in them which they do not presently understand, seriously consider, *quanto suo periculo id faciant.* And so let us proceed in our citations.

Origen, (*cont. Cels.* l. VI. p. 319. edit. Cantabrig. 1658. [c. 63. p. 681.]) after that he had sufficiently refuted the gross and profane conceits of Celsus, that great disciple of Epicurus, concerning the image of God, after which the first man is said to be created,

Gen. i. 27, thus (as it were delivering the common sentiment of the Christians of his time) concludes his discourse: "It remains, that the image of God be "placed in the inward man, (as we call it,) which is "renewed and fitted to represent the image of his "Creator; so that we are to conceive this to be the "image of God, when a man becomes perfect, as the "heavenly Father is perfect, and obeys the voice of "God, *Be ye holy, as the Lord your God is holy:* "and when learning that lesson, *Be ye followers of* "*God*, he receives into his well-disposed soul the "characters of God [d]."

From which words it is plain that Origen (with the Christians of his time) thought, that the perfection of the divine image, after which Adam is said to be created, consisted in holiness and supernatural virtues, and in those characters of God, which were impressed on his soul. Read that which follows in Origen.

The author of the five dialogues, amongst the works of Athanasius, (which the famous Scultetus judgeth to be the work of a very learned writer, and highly worth our reading [e],) doth frequently deliver the same doctrine, but especially in his third dialogue between Macedonius and the orthodox or catholic Christian. So p. 225. [c. 16. p. 516.] he takes it for granted, that Adam could not be said to be made

[d] Λείπεται δὴ τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς λεγομένῳ ἔσω ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ἀνακαινουμένῳ, καὶ πεφυκότι γίγνεσθαι κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος νοεῖσθαι τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα· ὅτε γίνεταί τις τέλειος, ὡς ὁ Πατὴρ ὁ οὐράνιος τέλειός ἐστι· καὶ ἀκούει ὅτι Ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιος Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν· καὶ μανθάνων τὸ, Μιμηταὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ γίνεσθε, ἀναλαμβάνει εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐνάρετον ψυχὴν τοὺς χαρακτῆρας τοῦ Θεοῦ.

[e] [The Benedictine editors are inclined to ascribe it to Maximus, certainly not to Athanasius.]

after the image of God, "if he had not been sancti-
"fied by the Spirit of holiness[f]." And presently after we find the Macedonian and the catholic Christian thus discoursing: "MAC. Are not therefore all "men made after the image of God? ORTHOD. Sin-"ners are not; but they that mortify the deeds of "the flesh, and put on the new man created after "God, these only have the image of God. For such "was Adam before his transgression[g]." Where when he denies wicked men to have the image of God in them, he is to be understood of the perfection of the divine image which wicked men want, who in the mean time retain those lineaments of the image which are implanted in the nature of man, such as the power of understanding, and the liberty of willing, and that dominion over the other creatures which is founded thereon: of which more hereafter. The same author a little after: "We see that man, "created after the image of God, was endued with "the cooperation of the Spirit[h]." So p. 226. [p. 517.] he takes this for a thing universally granted amongst all Christians, "that Adam in paradise was holy[i];" yea and so created, as it presently follows.

But let us hear the true and undoubted Athanasius. In him also this notion frequently occurs. I shall produce one most illustrious testimony out of him, which may be *instar omnium*. In his oration

[f] Μὴ ἁγιασθεὶς τῷ Πνεύματι τῆς ἁγιοσύνης.

[g] ΜΑΚ. Οὐκ ἐσμὲν οὖν πάντες κατ' εἰκόνα; ΟΡΘ. Οἱ ἁμαρτάνοντες, οὐ· οἱ δὲ τὰς πράξεις τοῦ σώματος θανατοῦντες, καὶ ἐνδιδυσκόμενοι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν κατὰ Θεὸν κτισθέντα, ἔχουσι τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα· τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀδὰμ πρὸ τῆς παρακοῆς.

[h] Τὸν κτισθέντα ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος συνεργείας ὁρῶμεν ὄντα.

[i] Ὅτι ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἐν παραδείσῳ ἅγιος ἦν.

entitled, *de Incarnatione Verbi*, tom. I. p. 56. [c. 3. p. 49.] you may read him thus excellently discoursing concerning the original state and condition of the first man: "God created all things out of no-" thing by his WORD, our Lord Jesus Christ. But " above all his creatures, he was most abundant in " his mercy to mankind: for considering that they " were not able to subsist for ever by the condition " of their nature, he freely bestowed on them SOME-" THING GREATER THAN IT, and did not simply create " mankind as he did other brute animals upon earth, " but made them after his own image, imparting to " them also the virtue or POWER OF HIS OWN WORD, " that having as it were certain shadows and linea-" ments of that Word, and being made partakers " thereof, they might be able to persevere in bless-" edness, living in paradise a true life, even the life " of the holy angels. And again considering that " the will of man was flexible to either part, [i. e. to " good or evil,] he took care by way of prevention to " secure the grace given them, by the reverence of a " law, and the place wherein they were set [k]."

I know not how any thing could have been spoken more apposite to our purpose. For this great author

[k] Ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τὰ πάντα πεποίηκεν [ὁ Θεὸς] διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου Λόγου τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἐν οἷς πρὸ πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐλεήσας, καὶ θεωρήσας ὡς οὐκ ἱκανὸν εἴη κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἰδίας γενέσεως λόγον διαμένειν ἀεί, πλέον τι χαριζόμενος αὐτοῖς, οὐχ' ἁπλῶς, ὥσπερ πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ἄλογα ζῶα, ἔκτισε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἰκόνα ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς, μεταδοὺς αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἰδίου Λόγου δυνάμεως· ἵνα ὥσπερ σκιάς τινας ἔχοντες τοῦ Λόγου καὶ γενόμενοι λογικοὶ, διαμένειν ἐν μακαριότητι δυνηθῶσι, ζῶντες τὸν ἀληθινὸν καὶ ὄντως τῶν ἁγίων ἐν παραδείσῳ βίον· εἰδὼς δὲ πάλιν τὴν ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἀμφότερα νεύειν δυναμένην προαίρεσιν, προλαβὼν ἠσφαλίσατο νόμῳ καὶ τόπῳ τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς χάριν.

doth here most expressly teach, that God did freely bestow upon the first man in his creation, besides his nature, something greater than it, which also he calls *grace*, the virtue or power of the Word or the Son of God, the divine image; and that upon the account of the lubricity of his will, and because by the mere condition of his nature, (without such grace,) he was not able to persevere in that blessed life, wherein he was placed in paradise, or to arrive to that more blessed life in heaven to which also he was designed; as Athanasius himself tells us, in the words immediately following, which we have before cited in their proper place. A little after he tells us, p. 57. [p. 51. c. 4.] "For man indeed is by nature "mortal, as being made of things that were not. "But yet by reason of the divine similitude, which "he might have kept by attending to it, he should "have repelled that his natural corruption, and re- "mained incorruptible [l]." Again, in the same page, "God did not only make us out of nothing, but also "freely bestowed on us the power of living the life "of God by the help of the Word [m]." And a few lines after, speaking still of the protoplasts, he tells us, "Although they were by their nature, as we said "before, corruptible, yet by the help of the Word, "of which they were made partakers, they should "have avoided that which was natural to them, if "they had remained obedient. For by reason of "the Word which was present with them, that

[l] Ἐστὶ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν ἄνθρωπος θνητὸς, ἅτε δὴ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γεγονώς· διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ὄντα ὁμοιότητα, ἣν εἰ ἐφύλαττε διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν κατανοήσεως, ἤμβλυνεν ἂν τὴν κατὰ φύσιν φθορὰν, καὶ ἔμεινεν ἄφθαρτος.

[m] Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Θεὸς οὐ μόνον ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἡμᾶς πεποίηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κατὰ Θεὸν ζῆν ἡμῖν ἐχαρίσατο τῇ τοῦ Λόγου χάριτι.

" natural corruption should have had no access unto " them [n]."

In all which places, Athanasius manifestly acknowledgeth a divine principle in our first parents, which he termeth the *grace*, the *help*, the *participation* of the Word or Son of God, (that is, the Holy Ghost,) by which they were enabled both to live the divine life as to their souls, and also to persevere incorruptible and immortal in their bodies; that is, so as that the corruption, to which their bodies were naturally subject, should have been repelled and staved off from them, by virtue of the divine principle, as long as God should think fit to continue them in the animal body; and that in God's due time their bodies should be changed, and become naturally and internally immortal, by the power of the same principle. I would desire the reader to consult the entire discourse of Athanasius in the pages cited.

The great Basil, in his Homily entitled, *Quod Deus non est Author peccati*, speaking of the nature of man, as it was at first created, hath these words: " What was the chief or principal good it enjoyed? " to wit, THE ASSESSION OF GOD AND ITS CON- " JUNCTION WITH HIM BY LOVE; from which, when " it fell, it became depraved with various and " manifold evils [o]." So in his book, *de Spiritu Sancto*, cap. **15**, he plainly tells us, " The dispensa- " tion of God and our Saviour towards man is but

[n] "Οντες μὲν κατὰ φύσιν, ὡς προεῖπον, φθαρτοὶ, χάριτι δὲ τῆς τοῦ Λόγου μετουσίας τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκφυγόντες, εἰ μεμενέκεισαν καλοί· διὰ γὰρ τὸν συνόντα τούτοις Λόγον, καὶ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν φθορὰ τούτων οὐκ ἤγγιζε.

[o] Τί δὲ ἦν αὐτῇ τὸ προηγούμενον ἀγαθόν; ἡ προσεδρεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἡ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης συνάφεια· ἧς ἐκπεσοῦσα, τοῖς ποικίλοις καὶ πολυτρόποις ἀρρωστήμασιν ἐκακώθη. [§. 6. vol. II. p. 78.]

" the recalling of him from the fall, and his return " into the friendship of God, from that alienation " which sin had caused. This was the end of Christ's " coming in the flesh, of his life and conversation " described in the Gospel, of his passion, cross, " burial, and resurrection; that man, who is saved " by the imitation of Christ, might regain that ANCIENT ADOPTION [p]." Where he plainly supposeth that man before his fall had the adoption of a son, and consequently the Spirit of adoption. And so he expressly interprets himself afterwards in the same chapter: " By the Holy Spirit we are restored into " paradise, we regain the kingdom of heaven, we " return to the adoption of sons [q]." Again, (*Homil. advers. Eunomium*, V. p. **117**.) we have these express words: " We are called in the sanctification of the " Spirit, as the apostle teacheth. This (Spirit) re- " news us, and makes us again the image of God, " and by the laver of regeneration, and the renew- " ing of the Holy Ghost, we are adopted to the " Lord, and the new creature again partakes of the " Spirit, of which being deprived, it had waxed old. " And thus man becomes again the image of God, " who had fallen from the divine similitude, and was " become *like the beasts that perish* [r]."

[p] Ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομία, ἀνάκλησίς ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκπτώσεως, καὶ ἐπάνοδος εἰς οἰκείωσιν Θεοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς διὰ τὴν παρακοὴν γενομένης ἀλλοτριώσεως· διὰ τοῦτο, ἡ μετὰ σαρκὸς ἐπιδημία Χριστοῦ· ἡ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν πολιτευμάτων ὑποτύπωσις· τὰ πάθη· ὁ σταυρός· ἡ ταφή· ἡ ἀνάστασις, ὥστε τὸν σωζόμενον ἄνθρωπον διὰ μιμήσεως Χριστοῦ, τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐκείνην υἱοθεσίαν ἀπολαβεῖν. [vol. III. p. 28.]

[q] Διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἡ εἰς παράδεισον ἀποκατάστασις· ἡ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν ἄνοδος· ἡ εἰς υἱοθεσίαν ἐπάνοδος. Vide ejusdem libri, cap. 9.

[r] Ἐν ἁγιασμῷ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐκλήθημεν, ὡς ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάσκει,

St. Cyril (7. *Dialog. de Trinit.* p. 653.) delivers the same doctrine with great perspicuity and elegancy, in these words: "For when the animal (viz., man) "had turned aside unto wickedness, and out of "too much love of the flesh had superinduced on "himself the disease of sin, THAT SPIRIT, WHICH "FORMED HIM AFTER THE DIVINE IMAGE, AND AS A "SEAL WAS SECRETLY IMPRESSED ON HIS SOUL, WAS "SEPARATED FROM HIM, and so he became corrupt-"ible and deformed, and every way vicious. But "after that the Creator of the universe had de-"signed to restore to its pristine firmness and beauty "that which was fallen into corruption, and was "become adulterated and deformed by sin super-"induced, he sent again into it that divine and holy "Spirit which was withdrawn from it, and which "hath a natural aptitude and power to change us "into the celestial image, viz., by transforming us "into his own likeness[8]." And in the fourth book of the same work, "When the only-begotten Son "was made man, finding man's nature bereft of its

τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ἀνακαινοῖ, καὶ πάλιν εἰκόνας ἀναδείκνυσι Θεοῦ, διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως Πνεύματος ἁγίου νίοθετούμεθα Κυρίῳ· καινὴ πάλιν κτίσις μεταλαμβάνουσα τοῦ Πνεύματος. οὗπερ ἐστερημένη πεπαλαίωτο, εἰκὼν πάλιν Θεοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκπεσὼν τῆς ὁμοιότητος τῆς θείας, καὶ παρασυμβληθεὶς κτήνεσιν ἀνοήτοις καὶ ὁμοιωθεὶς αὐτοῖς. [vol. III. p. 303.]

[8] *Διανενευκότος γὰρ τοῦ ζάου πρὸς τὸ πλημμελὲς, καὶ τὴν εἰσποίητον ἁμαρτίαν ἐκ τῆς εἰσίπαν φιλοσαρκίας ἠρρωστηκότος, τὸ πρὸς θείαν εἰκόνα διαμορφοῦν αὐτὸ, καὶ σημάντρου δίκην ἀπορρήτως ἐντεθειμένον ἀπενοσφίζετο Πνεῦμα, φθαρτόν τε οὖτω, καὶ ἀκαλλὲς, καὶ τί γὰρ οὐχὶ τῶν ἐκτόπων συνειληφὸς ἀναπέφανται; ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τῶν ὅλων γενεσιουργὸς ἀνακομίζειν ἤθελεν εἰς ἑδραίοτητά τε καὶ εὐκοσμίαν τὴν ἐν ἀρχαῖς τὸ διολισθῆσαν εἰς φθορὰν, παράστημόν τε, καὶ ἀκαλλὲς διὰ τὴν εἰσποίητον γεγονὸς ἁμαρτίαν, ἐνῆκεν αὖθις αὐτῷ τὸ ἀποφοιτῆσάν ποτε θεῖόν τε, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, μεταστοιχειοῦν εὖ μάλα πρὸς τὴν ὑπερκόσμιον εἰκόνα, καὶ πεφυκὸς καὶ δυνάμενον διὰ τοῦ πρὸς ἰδίαν ἡμᾶς μεταρρυθμίζειν ἐμφέρειαν.*

" ancient and primitive good, he hastened to trans-
" form it again into the same state, out of the foun-
" tain of his fulness, sending forth, (the Spirit,) and
" saying, *Receive the Holy Ghost* [t]."

St. Ambrose (lib. VI. *Hexamer.* cap. 7. [vol. I. p. 129.]) interprets the image of God, after which the first man is said to be created, of the ornaments of grace and supernatural virtue, wherewith his soul was beautified, and then adds these words: " After
" this image was Adam made before his sin; but
" when he fell, he laid aside the image of the hea-
" venly, and assumed the image of the earthly one [u]."
So in his commentary upon Luke, [vol. I. p. 1427.] expounding the parable, chap. x, of the man that fell among the thieves, he tells us, " that the angels of
" darkness, when man fell into their hands, stripped
" him of the garments of saving grace [x]."

St. Hierom, upon the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians, [vol. VII. p. 631,] expounding these words of St. Paul, (*Grieve not the Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption,*) hath this note: " We are sealed with the
" holy Spirit of God, that both our spirit and soul
" might have the impress of God's seal, and we
" might again receive that image and similitude,
" after which in the beginning we were created.

[t] Ὅτε γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος ὁ μονογενὴς, ἐρήμην τοῦ πάλαι καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἀγαθοῦ τὴν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν εὑρὼν, πάλιν αὐτὴ νεὶς ἐκεῖνο μεταστοιχειοῦν ἠπείγετο, καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τοῦ ἰδίου πληρώματος ἐνιείς τε καὶ λέγων· Λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον.

[u] Secundum hanc imaginem Adam ante peccatum; sed ubi lapsus est, deposuit imaginem cœlestis, et sumpsit terrestris effigiem.

[x] [Qui sunt isti latrones, nisi angeli noctis atque tenebrarum? Hi ante dispoliant quæ accepimus indumenta gratiæ spiritalis.]

" This seal of the holy Spirit is, according to the " speech of our Saviour, put on by the impression of " God [y]."

St. Austin (lib. XI. *de Genes. ad Liter.* cap. 31. [vol. III. p. 290.]) thus speaks of our first parents, " As soon as they had transgressed the command- " ment, being wholly stripped within of the grace " of God forsaking them, they looked upon them- " selves [z]," &c. So (*de Corrept. et Grat.* cap. 11. [vol. X. p. 767. §. 31.]) speaking again of Adam, he saith, " Nor would God have him to be without his " grace, which he left in the hand of his free-will [a]." Again, (lib. IV. *cont. Julian.* cap. ult. [vol. X. p. 625. §. 82.]) he speaks to the same purpose: " What " doth the discovery of the nakedness, after the " tasting of the forbidden fruit signify but this, that " what before was covered by grace, was now made " bare by sin? For there must needs be a mighty " grace, where the earthly and animal body felt no " bestial lust. He therefore, that being clothed " with grace, had nothing in his naked body to be " ashamed of, being despoiled of grace, was sensible " of something that needed a covering [b]."

[y] Signati autem sumus Spiritu Dei sancto, ut et spiritus noster et anima imprimantur signaculo Dei, et illam recipiamus imaginem et similitudinem, ad quam in exordio conditi sumus. Hoc signaculum sancti Spiritus, juxta eloquium salvatoris, Deo imprimente signatur

[z] Mox ut præceptum transgressi sunt, intrinsecus gratia deserente omnino nudati, in sua membra oculos injecerunt.

[a] Nec ipsum Deus esse voluit sine sua gratia, quam reliquit in ejus libero arbitrio.

[b] Quid est, gustato cibo prohibito, nuditas indicata, nisi peccato nudatum, quod gratia contegebat? Gratia quippe Dei magna ibi erat, ubi terrenum et animale corpus bestialem libidinem non habebat. Qui ergo vestitus gratia non habebat in nudo cor-

Prosper, the scholar of St. Austin, (*contra Collatorem*, cap. 19. [c. 9. p. 320. ed. 1711.]) delivers the same catholic doctrine in these words: "For in that "ruin of the universal prevarication, man's nature "was not bereft either of its substance or faculty of "willing, but only of the light and beauty of those "virtues, of which by the imposture of the envious "(spirit) it was stripped or divested. Now having lost "those things, by which alone it was able to attain "an eternal and never-failing incorruption of soul "and body, what hath it remaining beside the things "belonging to this temporal life, which is wholly a "life of condemnation and punishment? For which "cause there is a necessity, that those who are born "in Adam should be born again in Christ, lest any "man should be found in the generation which pe-"rished. For if the posterity of Adam dwelt natu-"rally in those virtues, in which Adam was before "his sin, they would not be the children of wrath, "they would not be darkness, or under the power of "darkness; lastly, they would not need the grace of "a Saviour, because they would not be good in vain, "nor defrauded of the reward of righteousness, hav-"ing those good things, by the loss whereof our first "parents deserved to be banished out of paradise. "But now seeing no man can escape eternal death, "without the sacrament of regeneration, doth it not "most plainly appear from the singularity of the

pore quod puderet, spoliatus gratia sensit, quod operire deberet. Read the same St. Austin, *De Civitat. Dei*, XIII. 1, 13, 24. et XIV. 10, 11, 17. et lib. de Spiritu et Lit. cap. 17. See also what Philo speaks to the same effect: *Γυμνότητα οὐ τὴν τοῦ σώματος παραλαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἣν ὁ νοῦς ἄμοιρος καὶ γυμνὸς ἀρετῆς ἀνευρίσκεται.* Philo Allegor. II. p. 71. [l. III. p. 98.]

" remedy itself, into what a depth of evils the na-
" ture of all mankind is plunged, by the prevarica-
" tion of him in whom all men sinned, and lost what-
" soever he lost? Now he in the beginning lost
" faith, he lost continence, he lost charity, he was
" despoiled of wisdom and understanding, he was
" bereft of counsel and fortitude[c]," &c.

Lastly, Fulgentius (*de Incarnatione et Gratia Christi, ad Petrum Diaconum*, cap. 12. [p. 299. ed. 1684.]) asserts it as a thing to be held undoubted among all catholics, "That the supreme and true
" God did to the first man, whom out of his free
" goodness he made good according to his own
" image, implanting in him a faculty of knowing and
" loving him, not only give the gift of a good-will,
" but also create in him a free will, entire and sound,

[c] Naturæ enim humanæ, in illa universalis prævaricationis ruina, nec substantia erepta est nec voluntas, SED LUMEN DECUSQUE VIRTUTUM, quibus fraude invidentis exuta est. Perditis autem per quæ ad æternam atque inamissibilem corporis animæque incorruptionem poterat pervenire, quid ei remansit, nisi quod ad temporalem pertinet vitam, quæ tota est damnationis et pœnæ? Propter quod, natos in Adamo renasci oportet in Christo, ne in illa quis inveniatur generatione, quæ periit. Nam si posteri Adæ in illis virtutibus naturaliter agerent, in quibus Adam fuit ante peccatum, non essent natura filii iræ, non essent tenebræ, nec sub potestate tenebrarum: Salvatoris denique gratia non egerent: quia non frustra boni essent, nec justitiæ præmio fraudarentur: habentes ea bona, quorum amissione primi parentes de paradiso exulare meruerunt. Nunc autem, cum sine sacramento regenerationis æternam mortem nemo possit evadere; nonne ex ipsius remedii singularitate apertissime patet, in quam profundum malum totius humani generis natura demersa sit, illius prævaricatione, in quo omnes peccaverunt, et quicquid ille perdidit, perdiderunt? Perdidit autem primitus fidem, perdidit continentiam, perdidit charitatem, spoliatus est sapientia et intellectu, caruit consilio et fortitudine, &c.

" for the having and keeping of that righteousness " which was bestowed on him; so that if the faculty " and notion of his free will did not forsake the " grace of God assisting it, the goodness of God " might bestow on man the reward of eternal life: " but if despising the divine righteousness it fell " from grace, the justice of God might punish the " offender[d]." Where he plainly acknowledgeth in the first man, before his fall, not only a natural faculty of free will, created entire and sound, but also a grace of God assisting it, and a divine righteousness to be kept and preserved by it. So a little after he hath these express words: "Therefore the " first man, being created out of the earth earthly, " received indeed the grace whereby he could not sin, " if he would not sin, but he had not yet so great a " grace, as whereby he neither would at all nor could " sin[e]." It were easy to go on in the proof of this doctrine, out of the succeeding writers approved in the church, and out of the schoolmen themselves; but it is already well known and confessed, that they were all generally of this opinion.

[d] Summum et verum Deum, primo homini, quem ad suam imaginem gratuita bonitate bonum fecit, cui facultatem quoque suæ cognitionis ac dilectionis inseruit, non solum bonæ voluntatis donum, quin etiam ad habendam custodiendamque justitiam, integrum sanumque creasse libertatis arbitrium, ut facultas atque motus inditæ libertatis si juvantem se gratiam Dei non desereret, præmium vitæ æternæ tribueret Dei bonitas homini: si autem justitiam divinam contemnens, a gratia excidisset, supplicia retribueret justitia peccatori.

[e] Creatus ergo primus homo de terra terrenus accepit quidem gratiam, qua non posset peccare, si peccare nollet, nondum tamen tantam acceperat gratiam, qua nec peccare vellet omnino nec posset, &c.

Now before I proceed to take off the objections against this doctrine, and to shew the great use of it, it will be necessary to reflect a little upon the testimonies alleged, and to take notice of a difficulty in them, which if not satisfied may greatly weaken, if not wholly blast, their credit and authority. It is easily observed, that almost all the Fathers, whose testimonies we have produced, do place the image and similitude of God after which the first man is said to be created, Gen. i. 27, especially in those supernatural powers, gifts, or graces, wherewith they suppose him to be furnished in his creation. At this (I doubt not) the Socinian will laugh in his sleeve, and from this one discovery will be apt presently to conclude for certain, that this notion of the Fathers, asserting a supernatural righteousness in the first man, was a mere dream, an idle fancy of theirs, as being founded on a manifest falsehood. For, saith he, what can be more apparent, than that the image and likeness of God, after which the first man is said to be created, Gen. i. 27, is placed only in his dominion over the other creatures in this visible world? For after God had said, *Let us make man after our own image and likeness*, he immediately adds, *and let him have dominion over the fishes of the sea*. &c. Where seeing the latter words are exegetical of the former, it follows, that by the image of God is meant man's dominion over the brutes. And in this argument the Socinians boast as if it were a perfect demonstration. But I have learnt long since to despise the confidence of this kind of men, as having by many experiments found, that their greatest strength, where they oppose the sense of the catholic church, is perfect weakness. Sure I am, that

this great argument of theirs is a mere inconsequence.

For, 1. There is no necessity arising from the text itself, that we should grant the latter words to be exegetical of the former; for they may be understood only as consequent to the former, that is, so as to express, not the nature of the divine image, but what followed thereupon in the first man.

But, 2. Let us grant that there is an ἐξήγησις in the words, and that the dominion mentioned in the latter part of the text is an exposition of the divine image mentioned in the former words; what then? doth it thence follow that the dominion constitutes the whole and entire image of God, after which the first man is said to be created? Surely no. It is sufficient, that it be acknowledged as a part of the divine image. For we find often in Scripture, that what is in one place in part only described, is otherwhere fully explained in all its parts: whereof the one being described in one text, the rest are not to be denied which are otherwhere explained. *Ab inclusiva ad exclusivam non valet consequentia.* Although therefore we willingly grant, that man's dominion over the other creatures belongs to that image of God after which he is said to be created, yet it doth not thence follow, that this dominion makes up the full complete and adequate definition of that divine image.

3. We have already observed, that Moses, in the history of the creation, designed to lead the rude and carnal people of the Jews from things sensible, and obvious, to the invisible things of God. Hence in the instance now before us, having related the words of God, *Let us make man after our own image*, &c.,

he presently adds, *and let him have dominion*, &c., not to signify that this was the chiefest part, much less the whole of the divine image in man, but because in this dominion, as an effect obvious to sense, it more plainly appeared, that man was made after the image of God. Let us look to the words presently following, ver. 28, concerning the divine benediction upon our first parents; in the beginning of the verse it is said, *And God blessed them;* and immediately it is added, *and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea*, &c. Let now some novice out of the Racovian school step forth and tell us, that the latter words are exegetical of the former, and consequently that the divine benediction mentioned in the beginning of the verse extended no farther than the effects immediately expressed in the following words; that is, that our first parents were blessed by God to no other purposes than that of begetting children, and exercising dominion over the brute creatures; and so that they were not at all designed or consecrated to those higher ends of increasing and being fruitful in virtue, of subduing and keeping their lower and brutish faculties in a due order and obedience to the τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, of glorifying the God that made them, and of attaining a farther happiness by obedience to his precepts: who would not presently discern the perfect brutishness of this kind of reasoning? and yet this is every whit as wise a discourse as that of Socinus, concerning the divine image now under our examination.

4. The image of God is a comprehensive thing, and there are many lines requisite to complete the

divine similitude, after which the first man was created. To this belongs man's intellective power, his liberty of will, his dominion over the other creatures flowing from the two former. These make up the τὸ οὐσιώδες, that part of that divine image which is natural and essential to man, and consequently can never be wholly blotted out, defaced, or extinguished, but still remains even in man fallen. But beside these, the church of God hath ever acknowledged, in the first man, certain additional ornaments, and as it were complements of the divine image, such as immortality, grace, holiness, righteousness, whereby man approached more nearly to the similitude and likeness of God. These were (if I may so speak) the lively colours wherein the grace, the beauty, and lustre of the divine image principally consisted; these colours faded, yea were defaced and blotted out by man's transgression.

St. Gregory Nyssen (*lib. de Hom. Opificio*, cap. 4. [vol. I. p. 53.]) sets forth this by a most apt and elegant similitude, comparing the animated and living effigies of that great King with the image of the emperor, which is so expressed by the hand of the artificer, either in sculpture or picture, as to represent the very dress and ensigns of the royal majesty, such as the purple robe, the sceptre, and the diadem. For as the emperor's image doth represent, not only his countenance and the figure of his body, and as it were his substance, but also his dress and ornaments, and royal ensigns; so man doth then perfectly represent in himself the image and similitude of God, when to the good things of nature, which cannot be blotted out or extinguished, the ornaments of grace and virtue also are added: when man's

nature is (as he saith) "not clothed with purple, or "vaunting its dignity by a sceptre or a diadem; (for "the archetype consists not in such things as these;) "but instead of purple is clothed with virtue, which "is of all other the most royal vestment; and, for "a sceptre, is supported by a blessed immortality; "and instead of a diadem, is adorned with a crown "of righteousness[f]."

Now that these supernatural ornaments and perfections were a part, and a chief part of the image of God, after which the first man is said to be created, is not an idle dream or fancy of the Christian writers, but was a notion received and acknowledged in the Jewish church many years before our Saviour's appearance in the flesh. This is very manifest from the almost divine author of the Book of Wisdom, which was always entertained in the Christian church with a reverence next to that which they paid to the divinely inspired writings. For he tells us, chap. ii. 23, that *God created man for immortality*, (ἐπ' ἀφθαρσίᾳ, for an incorruptible estate,) *and made him the image of his own propriety*[g]. Where he manifestly placeth the image of God, after which Adam was created, (that is, the chiefest excellency and perfection thereof,) in this, that he was made and designed for an immortal and incorruptible estate, and consequently fitted with powers and faculties proportioned to such an end. This blessed immortality was the ἰδία ἰδιότης,

[f] Οὐ πορφυρίδα περικειμένη, οὐδὲ σκήπτρῳ καὶ διαδήματι τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπισημαίνουσα· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἐν τούτοις ἐστίν· ἀλλ' ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς ἀλουργίδος τὴν ἀρετὴν ἠμφιεσμένη, ὃ δὴ πάντων βασιλικώτατον ἐσθημάτων ἐστίν. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ σκήπτρου, τῇ μακαριότητι τῆς ἀθανασίας ἐρειδομένη, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ διαδήματος, τῷ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στεφάνῳ κεκοσμημένη.

[g] [In our version we read *eternity*. Grabe's edition gives the two readings ἀϊδιότητος and ἰδιότητος.]

the proper propriety (which by a barbarous elegancy signifies *the most especial propriety*) of the divine nature, by the participation whereof man made the nearest approach to the divine image and similitude. Let the dull and heavy divines of Racovia yet think so πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς, *poorly and meanly*, concerning the divine image, after which the first man was created, as to confine it to that little lordship (*egregiam vero laudem!*) which man enjoyed over the brute creatures; let them, I say, consider the words of this ancient author, (living in those darker times, before the clearer revelation of divine truth by our blessed Saviour,) and from him learn to correct this their gross and even palpable error.

The same is evident out of Philo the Jew, who bordered upon the very age of our Saviour's incarnation. In him you shall frequently meet with this more sublime notion of the divine image and similitude. So (*lib. quod Det. Potiori insid. soleat*, p. 171.) having told us that they only, who are acquainted with the writings of the divinely inspired Moses, can give a true account how man attains to the knowledge of the invisible God, he presently after expresseth the sense of the Mosaic narration in these words: "He speaks to this purpose. The Creator " made not any soul (enclosed) in a body apt of " itself to see or know its Maker. But yet consi- " dering how hugely advantageous such knowledge " would be unto the creature if it had it, (for this is " the utmost bound of happiness and felicity,) he " inspired into it from above something of his own " divinity; which being invisible impressed upon " the invisible soul its own characters, that so even " this earthly region might not be without a creature

" made after the image of God [g]." Where he manifestly placeth the image of God, (i. e. the perfection thereof,) after which Adam was created, in those divine characters which were impressed on his soul in his creation, or in the supernatural gift and faculty whereby he was enabled to attain the vision and perfect knowledge of God; and he also asserts, that this was the recondite sense of Moses's words in the history of man's creation. The same notion of the divine image he otherwhere (*lib. de Plantatione Noe*, p. 216, 217.) delivers more clearly and expressly in these words: "The great Moses makes not the " species of the rational soul to be like to any of " the creatures, but pronounceth it to be the image " of the invisible God; as judging (the soul) then to " become the true and genuine coin of God, when it " is formed and impressed by the divine seal, the " character whereof is the eternal Word. For God, " saith he, breathed into his face the breath of life. " So that he that receives the inspiration must of " necessity represent the image of him that gives it. " Therefore it is said, that man was made after the " image of God [h]." And he presently after tells us,

[g] Ἔλεγε δὲ ὧδε, ψυχὴν οὐδεμίαν τῷ σώματι ὁ ποιῶν εἰργάζετο ἱκανὴν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς τὸν ποιητὴν ἰδεῖν· λογισάμενος δὲ μεγάλα ὑνήσειν τὸ δημιούργημα, εἰ λάβοι τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος ἔννοιαν· εὐδαιμονίας γὰρ καὶ μακαριότητος ὅρος οὗτος· ἄνωθεν ἐνέπνει τῆς ἰδίου θειότητος· ἡ δ' ἀοράτως ἀοράτῳ ψυχῇ τοὺς ἑαυτῆς τύπους ἐνεσφραγίζετο, ἵνα μηδ' ὁ περίγειος χῶρος εἰκόνος ἀμοιρήσῃ Θεοῦ. [vol. I. p. 208.]

[h] Ὁ δὲ μέγας Μωϋσῆς οὐδενὶ τῶν γεγονότων τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς τὸ εἶδος ὁμοίωσεν, ἀλλ' εἶπεν αὐτὴν τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀοράτου εἰκόνα, δόκιμον εἶναι νομίσας, οὐσιωθεῖσαν καὶ τυπωθεῖσαν σφραγῖδι Θεοῦ, ἧς ὁ χαρακτήρ ἐστιν ἀΐδιος Λόγος. Ἐνέπνευσε γάρ, φησίν, ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς· ὥστε ἀνάγκη πρὸς τὸν ἐκπέμποντα τὸν δεχόμενον ἀπεικονίσθαι· διὸ καὶ λέγεται κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον γεγενῆσθαι· [vol. I. p. 332.]

that by the same divine Spirit, which fashioned man after the image of God, man's soul was exalted and lifted up "to the highest altitude[1]."

Now it being thus apparent, that this sublimer notion of the divine image, after which the first man is said to be created, was so anciently received and acknowledged in the Jewish church, and also so universally entertained in the churches of Christ planted by the apostles, it would seem very strange to me if any rational man should doubt of the sense of St. Paul's words, (were they not of themselves plain enough,) which we read Col. iii. 9, 10: *Ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge* AFTER THE IMAGE *of him that created him.* With which place you may compare that of the same apostle, Eph. iv. 24. Surely Mr. Calvin's collection is here most genuine, who from the text alleged draws this inference: "Hence we learn both what is the end "of our regeneration, to wit, that we be made like "unto God, and that his glory may shine brightly "in us; and also what is that image of God, of "which mention is made in the history of Moses; "namely, the rectitude and integrity of the whole "soul, whereby man, as it were in a glass, re-"presents the wisdom, righteousness, and goodness

[1] Πρὸς μήκιστον ὕψος. To the same purpose speaketh Philo, Ὅταν ἀκούσῃς Ἀδὰμ, γῆϊνον καὶ φθαρτὸν εἶναι νόμιζε· ὁ γὰρ κατ' εἰκόνα, οὐ γήϊνος, ἀλλ' οὐράνιος, Phil. Allegor. l. i. p. 57. Διττὸν γένος ἀνθρώπων, τὸ μὲν θείῳ Πνεύματι καὶ λογισμῷ βιούντων· τὸ δὲ αἵματι καὶ σαρκὸς ἡδονῇ ζώντων· τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος πλάσμα ἐστὶ γῆς, ἐκεῖνο δὲ θείας εἰκόνος ἐμφερὲς ἐκμαγεῖον· χρεῖος δέ ἐστιν οὐ μετρίως ὁ πεπλασμένος ἡμῶν χοῦς καὶ ἀναδεδευμένος αἵματι βοηθείας τῆς ἐκ Θεοῦ. Idem lib. Quis Rerum Divin. Hæres. p. 489. [vol. I. p. 481.]

" of God[k]." Indeed (laying aside that reverence which we owe to so consentient a judgment of the church of God, both before and after Christ) there is light enough in the text itself (as we have already intimated) to direct us to this interpretation. For St. Paul affirms the Ephesians *ἀνακαινοῦσθαι, to be renewed*, after this image of the Creator. Now to be *renewed* most properly signifies " to receive again " something which we once had, but lost." So the active verb *ἀνακαινίζειν* is manifestly used, Heb. vi. 6. And so also the Hebrew word חדש very often signifies, *to restore a thing unto its former estate*, as Psalm ciii. 5. Lam. v. 21. Man therefore once before had (viz., in the state of integrity) that image of God, to which he is formed and fashioned again by the grace of Christ the Redeemer. So the apostolical writer Irenæus (V. 12.) paraphraseth on the place: " In that he saith, *who is renewed in knowledge*, " he shews, that the very man who before was ig- " norant of God, is by the knowledge of him re- " newed. For the knowledge of God renews a man. " And in that he saith, *according to the image of* " *the Creator*, he expresseth the restoration of that " man, who was in the beginning made after the " image of God[l]." And what the same Irenæus

[k] Hinc discimus, tum quis sit finis regenerationis nostræ, hoc est, ut Deo reddamur similes, ac in nobis reluceat ejus gloria: tum quæ sit Dei imago, cujus mentio fit apud Mosem, nempe totius animæ rectitudo et integritas, ita ut homo sapientiam Dei, justitiam, et bonitatem quasi speculum repræsentet. *Calvin. in Col.* iii. 10.

[l] In eo quod ait, *qui renovatur in agnitionem*, demonstrabat quoniam ipse ille qui ignorantiæ erat ante homo, id est, ignorans Deum, per eam quæ in eum est agnitionem renovatur. Agnitio enim Dei renovat hominem. Et in eo quod dicit, *secundum*

otherwhere tells us (III. 20. [c. 18. p. 209.]) is apparently the sense of the catholic church, viz., "That "what we lost in Adam, to wit, the divine image "and similitude, that we receive again in Christ "Jesus [m]."

I am sensible that my zeal of vindicating the catholic doctrine hath carried me a little beyond my design. To return again to the matter proposed, it is abundantly manifest from the many testimonies alleged, that the ancient doctors of the church did with a general consent acknowledge, that our first parents in the state of integrity had in them something more than nature, that is, were endowed with the divine principle of the Spirit, in order to a supernatural felicity. Yet the most learned Grotius will by no means grant this hypothesis. He acknowledgeth indeed, *innocentiam quandam fuisse in Adamo priusquam peccavit*, (and we owe him no thanks for that concession; for Socinus will confess as much; and Grotius himself tells us [n], that he is not well in his wits that shall deny it,) but that Adam in the state of integrity was spiritual, or had any thing of the Holy Spirit in him, he will by no means admit of. A man might well expect, that so learned a man as Grotius was, and otherwise so great a reverencer of antiquity, should not without most evident reasons maintain an opinion so manifestly thwarting the stream and current of the catholic doctors. But

imaginem Conditoris, recapitulationem manifestavit ejus hominis, qui in initio secundum imaginem factus est Dei.

[m] Ut quod perdideramus in Adam, id est, secundum imaginem et similitudinem esse Dei, hoc in Christo Jesu reciperemus.

[n] Vide Grot. Not. in Cassand ad Art. 2. et Vot. pro Pacc ad eundem artic. et discus. p. 30.

alas! he hath but one argument to defend his hypothesis, and that argument too, when examined, will appear to be a very weak one, yea a very gross fallacy. The argument is this, "St. Paul, when (1 Cor. xv. "45,) he opposeth the earthly Adam to the spiritual "Adam, considers Adam as he was at first created, "and not as fallen, &c., whence it follows, that we "have another kind of nature from Christ, than we "should have had, if Adam had remained in his first "estate, and begotten children like himself[o]."

With the same weapon an author, very ancient, but disallowed and censured by the learned as one that prepared the way for the Pelagian heresy, oppugned of old this catholic doctrine; I mean the author of *the book of Questions out of the Old and New Testament*, which by a gross mistake usurps a place among the works of St. Augustin. The CXXIII. Question, which he propounds, is this, "Whether "Adam had the Holy Spirit?" And in the entrance to his resolution of this question he tells us, "that "this was indeed affirmed by the generality of Christ-"ians in his time upon this ground, that we receive "in the second Adam what we lost in the first." But he declares his own opinion to the contrary, and proves it from the forementioned text, 1 Cor. xv. 45, &c. From whence he thus argues: "What is more "manifest, than that Adam had not the Holy Spirit? "for he was made a living soul, and it is by Christ "that man is made a quickening spirit[p]." But it is apparent, that the text alleged hath quite another

[o] Vot. pro Pace ad Art. 2.

[p] Quid tam apertum, quam quod Adam non habuit Spiritum S.? factus est enim in animam viventem, per Christum autem in spiritum vivificantem.

sense[q] than what is supposed in this objection. For the apostle in that chapter, discoursing of the resurrection of the body, shews, in the verses referred to, the difference betwixt the body of man, considered not only in the state wherein it was after the fall, but as it was at first created, and the glorious body which Christ received in his resurrection, and we expect in ours. The difference is this; that the first Adam (as likewise all that descend from him) needed meat and drink, and other external helps, for the conservation of his body: but Christ, the second Adam, after his resurrection, received a body in its own nature, and by an internal principle immortal; and the like body is promised to all those that believe in Christ at the last and general resurrection. And what is all this to the purpose of the objectors? Surely there is no repugnancy at all betwixt those two propositions, that Adam before his fall had an animal body in the sense explained, and that Adam in the same state and condition had a spiritual soul, or a soul elevated and raised by the divine Spirit. For both these meet together in every true Christian, only with this difference, that our bodies now are not only in a possibility, but under a necessity of dying, the sentence of death being passed on every man; but the body of the first man, although it was in its own principles mortal and subject to death and corruption, yet it should never have died, if man had not sinned, but should have been preserved by the special grace and favour of God to an incorruptible estate. Nay, this argument of the objectors may be

[q] See St. Austin excellently explaining the text, *De Civitat. Dei*, XIII. 23.

retorted upon themselves thus: It is evident from the Scriptures, and the perpetual tradition of the church, (and Grotius himself confesseth as much,) that the first man, whose body was of itself and in its own nature earthly, and so mortal, should yet by the grace of God, and by a certain divine power, (of which the tree of life was a sacrament,) have persevered in a blessed immortality, and never have died if he had not sinned. Therefore the protoplast had a gift of grace and supernatural power granted him as to his body, whereby that should have been elevated and raised above its natural constitution; and why then should we so pertinaciously refuse to acknowledge a like supernatural gift afforded him as to his soul?

And now seeing we have left the judgment of the church, and are fallen to our own reasonings, I crave leave to take my turn, and to propose an argument or two (as an overplus to those reasons that have been above suggested) in vindication of this doctrine of the catholic Fathers, taken out of the history of the primitive state of the first man, as it is delivered by Moses himself. And these arguments, if they be not demonstrative, yet sure I am they are far more considerable than any thing that hath been yet produced in defence of the contrary novel opinion.

1. It is apparent from the account of Moses, that the first man in the state of integrity was (as we have heard Tertullian expressing it) *Deo de proximo amicus*, "the intimate friend of God," that he could *cœlestia portare*, "bear heavenly things," and sustain the approaches of the shechinah, or majestic presence of God, without any regret or starting

back; that he could maintain a conference or discourse with God (as we have heard St. Basil speaking) in the same tongue or language, as we read Gen. ii. 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. Now for any man to think that a merely animal creature (such as the learned men we now oppose fancy Adam in his best estate to have been) could be admitted to, or whilst such, fit for, so divine a converse, seems to me a very senseless imagination, and so (I doubt not but) it will appear to any man that shall more closely consider the matter. No creature can bear the divine presence, that is not prepared for it by the divine Spirit. And man's communion, friendship, and converse with God, necessarily imports an union with him, and the bond of the union is certainly the divine Spirit. See 1 Cor. vi. 17.

2. It is likewise evident from the same history of Moses, that Adam in the state of integrity had a knowledge of certain things, unaccountable upon any other hypothesis but this, that his mind was irradiated with a divine illumination.

I might here insist upon that admirable philosophy-lecture, which Adam (appointed by God himself to that office) read on all the other animals. For although his theme here was a part of natural philosophy, yet his performance herein, if we look to its circumstances, cannot but be judged by every considering man to be the effect of a more than human sagacity[r]. That in the infinite variety of creatures, never before seen by Adam, he should be

[r] Παγκάλως καὶ τὴν θέσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀνῆψε τῷ πρώτῳ· σοφίας γὰρ καὶ βασιλείας τὸ ἔργον· σοφὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνος αὐτομαθὴς καὶ αὐτοδίδακτος χάρισι θείαις γενόμενος, &c. Philo de Mundi Opific. p. 34. [vol. I. p. 35.]

able on a sudden, without study or premeditation, to give names to each of them, so adapted and fitted to their natures, as that God himself should approve the nomenclature, how astonishing a thing is it! What single man, among all the philosophers since the fall, what Plato, what Aristotle, &c., among the ancients, what Descartes or Gassendus, &c., among the moderns, nay, what royal society, durst have undertaken this? Hence Plato himself (*in Cratylo*) acknowledgeth the man that first imposed names on things, to have been the wisest of mortals, nay he affirms him to have had something more than human in him. His words are these: "I suppose (O So-"crates) the truest account of the problem to be "this, that a certain power more than human im-"posed the first names on things[s]."

But to let this pass. We read that Adam no sooner saw his wife brought unto him by God, (who was pleased to honour that first and most glorious wedding, solemnized in paradise itself, by performing the office of a matrimonial father, in giving and presenting the bride with his own hands,) but he presently gave an exact account of her original, viz., That she was taken out of himself, and imposed on her a name accordingly; although whilst the admirable operation was performing in him, he lay in the profoundest sleep, and so could be no way sensible thereof. For thus we read expressly, Gen. ii.

[s] Οἶμαι, μὲν ἐγὼ τὸν ἀληθέστατον λόγον περὶ τούτων εἶναι, ὦ Σώκρατες, μείζονά τινα δύναμιν εἶναι ἢ ἀνθρωπείαν, τὴν θεμένην τὰ πρῶτα ὀνόματα τοῖς πράγμασι. See also what Procopius speaks to the same effect: Adamus non sine singulari prudentia et solertia, quam a Deo accepit, nomina dat creaturis, quæ ipsarum substantias quasi in speculo repræsentent. *Procop. ad cap.* 2. *Genes.* p. 57. *edit. Tigur.*

21, 22, 23: *And the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept; and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof. And the rib which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of man.*

Now whence could Adam have this knowledge[t]? He might indeed from the conformity of the parts of that goodly creature presented to his eye, and her nearest likeness to himself, guess that God had now provided him the meet help which before he wanted; but it is scarce imaginable how he could so punctually describe her original, and the manner of her formation, otherwise than by a secret inspiration and internal suggestion of the divine Spirit. Besides, the words following, ver. 24, *Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh*, are manifestly enough the continuation of Adam's discourse, transferring the former hypothesis into a thesis: as if he had said, As God hath joined me with my woman into one flesh, so from henceforth every husband shall obey this order established by heaven, and, leaving his dearest parents, cleave unto his wife as his own flesh. Our Saviour, Matth. xix. 5, attributes these words to God, because Adam uttered them by a spirit of prophecy. And this interpretation we meet with in the ancient fragments of

[t] Adamus ista omnia prolocutus est divino et prophetico inspiratus Spiritu. Nec enim propriis viribus, ex qua materia et in quem finem mulier condita fuerit, cognoscere quivisset. *Procopius ad cap.* 2. *Genes.* p. 58.

Polycarp [u], cited by Victor, bishop of Capua, above one thousand two hundred years ago. The sum is this, "Both Adam uttered this prophecy, and God "the Father also is rightly said to have uttered the "same, because he inspired him [x]." Hence Origen, and others of the Fathers, reckon Adam among the divinely inspired persons, and expressly term him a prophet.

And the *deep sleep*, which Adam was cast into before God formed Eve out of him, the ancient Christian writers generally understand to have been designed by God, not only as an expedient for the performance of the wonderful operation in him, without sense of pain, but also as an ἔκστασις, to prepare him for the receiving of that divine oracle, which presently upon his awaking he uttered. Like that *deep sleep* which God sent upon Abraham, when by the spirit of prophecy he would acquaint him with those events which were to happen to his posterity some ages after, Gen. xv. 12, &c. See Acts x. 10. and xxii. 17.

Thus Tertullian, speaking of the sleep that fell upon Adam, and the words that he afterwards uttered, "There fell an ecstasy upon him, even the "power of the Holy Ghost, causing him to pro-"phesy [y]." And we find the same notion expressly delivered by many others of the ancients. See

[u] Printed by Feuardentius, at the end of his Annotat. on cap. 2. l. III. Iren. p. 241.

[x] Et Adam hanc prophetiam protulit, et Pater, qui eum inspiravit, recte dicitur protulisse.

[y] Cecidit ecstasis super illum, Sancti Spiritus vis, operatrix prophetiæ. *Lib. de Anima*, cap. 11. n. 144. Vide et cap. 21. ejusdem libri.

especially St. Austin, lib. IX. *de Genes. ad Lit.* cap. ult., and Bernard, *Serm.* II. *Septuages.* Let me add hereto, that Philo also, the most ancient and learned writer among the Jews, acknowledgeth this sleep on Adam to have been an ecstasy, interpreting the ecstasy to have been a kind of recess of the soul from the body, and bodily senses, in order to the more calm and serene contemplation of divine things. For his words, speaking of this place of Moses, (*lib. Quis Rerum Divin. Hæres.* p. 517,) are these: "God "sent," saith he, "an ecstasy upon Adam, and laid "him into a deep sleep; understanding by an ecstasy "the quiet and tranquillity of the mind. For the "sleep of the mind is the waking of the senses, as "also the waking of the mind is the leisure of the "senses [z]."

Thus you see, that if we look no farther than the bare literal account of Moses concerning the first man, we have no reason at all to conceive him a creature so merely animal, so wholly void of the Spirit of God, as the low and plainly animal discourse of divers learned men hath represented him, yea that we have great reasons to entertain a quite contrary conception of him; and that if we regard the sense of the catholic church, both before and since our Saviour, it ought to be held for certain, that the protoplast was in the state of integrity endowed with a principle of the divine life, or the gift of the Spirit of God, in order to the attaining of that

[z] Ἐπέβαλε γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς, φησὶν, ἔκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ, καὶ ὕπνωσεν, ἔκστασιν τὴν ἡρεμίαν καὶ ἡσυχίαν τοῦ νοῦ παραλαμβάνων. ὕπνος γὰρ νοῦ, γρήγορσίς ἐστιν αἰσθήσεως. καὶ γὰρ αἱ γρηγόρσεις τῆς διανοίας, αἰσθήσεως ἀπραξία.

celestial bliss, to which also in the gracious purpose of God he was designed.

You will now (I hope) excuse me, that I have dwelt so long in the demonstration of these hypotheses, stepping aside at every turn to meet with those little scruples which have been raised against them by adversaries of different interests. For I gave you fair warning beforehand, that you were to expect this trouble from me, and told you my reason, viz., that I look on them as the two main pillars of the catholic doctrine concerning the fall of the first man, and the sad consequents thereof as to his posterity. And I do again profess, that I can by no means understand how that doctrine can be intelligibly explained, or rationally defended, otherwise than upon the foundation of the said hypotheses. For if it be once granted, that man in his first and best estate was a creature merely animal, I challenge any man to shew me, wherein that great fall of mankind, of which the Scriptures and the writings of the catholic doctors from the days of the apostles to our present age so loudly ring, can be imagined to consist?

Qui cadit in terram non habet unde cadat.

According to this hypothesis, man before the fall was but an earthly animal creature, and he is no worse now since the fall. Besides, you will find in the sequel of my discourse, that these principles have a mighty influence on the determination of divers important questions in debate betwixt my adversary and myself, and that upon the admission of these, some of the main foundations of his book written against me are not only shaken, but utterly

subverted: which consideration, I confess, induced me to be much larger in explaining these things than otherwise I should have been, if I had intended only an answer to your letter. In the mean time (that you may not live wholly upon promises, but see something of performance) I shall in general shew you the great use of this doctrine in three considerable instances.

First, You may gather hence a clear solution of that question so hotly agitated amongst modern divines: "Whether the original righteousness of the "first man was supernatural[a]?" For the meaning of this question, if it signify any thing to any considerable purpose, is clearly this, whether Adam in the state of integrity needed a supernatural principle or power in order to the performing of such a righteousness, as, through the gracious acceptance of God, should have been available to an eternal and celestial life and happiness? And the question being thus stated ought to be held in the affirmative, if the consentient determination of the church of God may be allowed its due weight in the balance of our judgments. There is a sense indeed, wherein we may safely acknowledge the original righteousness of the first man to have been natural, and it is this; that he received the principle of that righteousness *a nativitate sua*, "from his nativity," in his very creation, and together with his nature. For this (as we have above shewn) is generally confessed by the catholic doctors, who teach us that Adam received the principle of the natural and the divine life at the same time, and by the same insufflation of God men-

[a] An justitia originalis fuerit primo homini supernaturalis?

tioned Gen. ii. 7. Others declare themselves, in their affirming the original righteousness of the first man to have been natural, to mean no more than this, that Adam had by nature a remote power of performing such righteousness, but that he needed a supernatural assistance to bring this power into act; that is, (to speak more plainly,) he had natural faculties capable of doing this, if excited, raised, elevated, and assisted by a divine grace. And who in his wits will deny this? Yet thus the famous Tilenus (even before he turned to the Remonstrants, and when he was yet in flagrant favour with his countrymen) explains this doctrine, (*Syntag. Disput. Theolog.* par. I. disp. 32. n. 35—38,) using the similitude; "As the vine doth not therefore want a "natural power to bring forth wine, because it needs "those external helps of the sun, and rain, and cul-"ture, to its actual bringing forth: so also in Adam, "the rectitude of his will, and the good order of his "affections, was never the less natural, although *in* "*actu secundo* it was excited and assisted by the "help of moving grace[b]." Now this similitude (I say) we willingly admit, allowing for the difference betwixt natural and free agents. For hereby is signified, that Adam in the state of integrity had naturally, and without the aid of the divine Spirit, no more power to perform a righteousness available to eternal life, than the vine hath to bring forth wine

[b] Quemadmodum vitis non propterea caret vi naturali ad proferendum vinum, quod externis illi opus est auxiliis, puta sole, pluvia et cultura, ut actu proferat: sic et in Adamo non ideo naturalis non fuit voluntatis rectitudo, et affectuum εὐταξία, licet in actu secundo, gratiæ moventis auxilio excitaretur et adjuvaretur.

without the warm influence of the sun, and the dew of heaven, and dressing: which concession grants as much as any sober man will contend for. And yet the same learned man a little after doth plainly enough confess, that the doctrine of those protestant writers, that affirm the original righteousness of the first man to have been natural, cannot be excused from Pelagianism, unless it be thus explained.

Hence some, even of the systematic writers, stick not in direct terms to acknowledge, that those perfections, wherein the original righteousness of the first man is granted by all to consist, were supernatural to him. I shall produce one testimony, which may be *instar omnium*, and it is the testimony of Wollebius, whose system hath been so thumbed by young students in theology. His words (*Christ. Theol.* I. 8. can. 8, 9, 10,) are these: "[c] The "gifts belonging to the image of God were partly "natural, partly supernatural. The natural were the "soul, a simple and invisible substance, and its fa- "culties, viz., understanding and will. The super- "natural were the clearness of the understanding [d], "the liberty and rectitude of the will, the conformity "of the appetites or affections, the immortality of "the whole man," &c. But enough of this.

Secondly, Upon the foundations laid, you may raise an impregnable argument to evince the absolute necessity of divine grace in man fallen, in order

[c] Imaginis Dei dona partim naturalia erant. Naturalia erant animæ simplex ac invisibilis substantia, ejusque facultates, intellectus nimirum et voluntas. Supernaturalia erant, intellectus claritas, voluntatis libertas et rectitudo, appetituum seu affectuum conformitas, totius hominis immortalitas, &c.

[d] Viz., in reference to supernatural acts or objects.

to the performance of that righteousness which is required unto his eternal salvation, against the heresy of Pelagius. The argument is by the abovementioned learned man, Daniel Tilenus, (*Syntag. Disput. Theolog.* par. I. disp. 34. n. 24.) formed *a majori ad minus*, thus: "If the natural man, even in "the state of integrity, could not of himself attain "to a supernatural end, with what face can he now, "in the state of corruption, arrogate to himself so "great a strength and confidence[e]?" But what need I fly to the testimonies of single authors, especially moderns? We find this argument expressly made use of by the council of Orange, purposely called against the heresy of Pelagius reviving in France. (*Concil. Aurausican.* cap. 19. *inter opera August.* tom. VII. p. 614. edit. Paris. 1635.) The words of the holy Fathers, assembled in that council, are these: "The nature of man, if it had remained "in that integrity wherein it was created, could by "no means have saved itself without the assistance "of its Creator. Wherefore seeing without the "grace of God it could not keep the salvation "which it had received, how can it possibly with-"out the grace of God recover that which it hath "lost[f]?"

Lastly, You may from that large account which I have given you of the sense of antiquity, as to the

[e] Si homo ψυχικὸς, ne in integra quidem natura, supernaturalem finem per se erat assecuturus; qua fronte tantum roboris, aut fiduciæ, sibi arroget corruptus?

[f] Natura humana, etiamsi in illa integritate, in qua est condita, permaneret, nullo modo seipsam, Creatore suo non adjuvante, servaret. Unde cum sine gratia Dei salutem non possit custodire, quam accepit, quomodo sine Dei gratia poterit reparare, quod perdidit?

last hypothesis, most certainly assure yourself how unjust a charge that is, which some [g] bold men have fastened on all the Christian writers before Pelagius, especially on those that flourished within the first three centuries; namely, that they held the same doctrine, which was afterwards condemned by the church as heretical in Pelagius; exalting the τὸ αὐτεξούσιον into the throne of the divine Spirit, and asserting a sufficiency of man's natural powers in his lapsed estate, without the grace of God, to perform those things which conduce unto eternal life. For you may now evidently discern, that those excellent persons were so far from this persuasion, that they believed an absolute necessity of a divine and supernatural principle, even in man entire, to raise and elevate his natural powers unto the attainment of so high an end. And this notion you nowhere find more clearly delivered, than it is by the writers of the first three hundred years. Many learned men have, with a laudable zeal, stood up in vindication of the holy Fathers and martyrs from this foul calumny, and have more than sufficiently done it, by amassing many testimonies out of their writings, wherein they expressly acknowledge an absolute necessity of the divine grace, and the operation of the Holy Spirit in lapsed man, in order to his eternal salvation. But none of them (that I have yet met with) hath made use of this notion, which yet runs (as it were) in a continued vein through the writings

[g] Among the rest, our countryman Mr. Baxter tells us, "Yet "the truth is, most, if not all the Fathers of the first two hun- "dred or three hundred years do speak in a language seeming "to lean strongly that way—But the plain truth is, till Pelagius's "days, all spoke like Pelagians." *Saints' Rest*, part I. p. 154.

of all the primitive Fathers, and strikes (as we but now observed) at the very heart of the Pelagian heresy.

Thus I have returned a very large answer to the inquiry, concerning the covenant of life made with man in the state of integrity, much larger, I believe, than was expected, and, I am sure, than I at first intended. For I have scarce, I think, omitted any thing which might be said of that covenant with any certainty, either from the express dictates of the sacred oracles, or from the consent of the catholic church, the best guide we can follow in those cases wherein the holy Scriptures speak less plainly.

A VINDICATION

OF

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

FROM

THE ERRORS AND CORRUPTIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

Wherein, as is largely proved,

THE RULE OF FAITH, AND ALL THE FUNDAMENTAL ARTICLES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, ARE RECEIVED, TAUGHT, PROFESSED, AND ACKNOWLEDGED.

BY

DR. GEORGE BULL,

LATE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

WRITTEN,

AT THE REQUEST OF THE COUNTESS OF NEWBRUGH,

IN ANSWER TO A CELEBRATED ROMAN CATHOLIC TREATISE,

ENTITLED,

"THE CATHOLIC SCRIPTURIST."

Published from his Lordship's Manuscript, by his Son Robert Bull, Rector of Tortworth, and Prebendary of Gloucester.

THE PREFACE.

SOMETIME in last December I received a letter from Mr. Curll the bookseller, acquainting me that a manuscript of my father's, entitled, *A Letter to the Countess of Newbrugh*, was found among the papers of a gentleman lately deceased. The manuscript hath since been transmitted to me, and I have carefully perused it. And though I was at first surprised to find it not written in my father's own hand, yet, upon farther recollection, I see no manner of reason to question but that the treatise is his; having frequently heard him mention such a letter, and seen several of his papers (written, as near as I can guess, about the same time) transcribed by the same hand. From whence I farther conclude, that the manuscript, of which I am now speaking, is the very same that was sent to the countess of Newbrugh, and which Mr. Nelson so laments the loss of, p. 66 of his Life of my father. For the

sake of those readers who may not have seen that excellent piece of Mr. Nelson's, I shall here insert the whole paragraph:

"While Mr. Bull was rector of Suddington, the "providence of God gave him an opportunity of "fixing two ladies of quality, in that neighbourhood, "in the protestant communion, who had been re- "duced to a very wavering state of mind, by the "arts and subtleties of some Romish missionaries. "Their specious pretences to antiquity were easily "detected by this great master of the ancient Fa- "thers; and by his thorough acquaintance with "Scripture, and the sense of the catholic church "in matters of the greatest importance, he was able "to distinguish between primitive truths, and those "errors which the church of Rome built upon them. "He had frequent conferences with both these "ladies, and answered those objections which ap- "peared to them to have the greatest strength, and "by which they were very near falling from their "steadfastness: *For one of them he writ a small* "*treatise, which she had requested from him, but* "*no copy of it is to be found among those papers* "*he left behind him; nothing remaineth of it but* "*the remembrance that it was written, and that he* "*did thereby succeed in establishing the lady in the* "*communion of the church of England.* Both the "ladies always owned, with the greatest sense of "gratitude, this signal service they received from

" the learning and capacity of Mr. Bull. None can " well apprehend how grievous a state of human " life doubt is, in matters of consequence, but they " who feel it; and therefore no wonder if they " blest that happy instrument by which fresh light " was conveyed into their minds, and those uncer- " tainties cleared up which they laboured under, " in reference to matters of the greatest moment. " The method indeed they took was prudent and " Christian, to seek for knowledge at those lips " which are appointed to preserve it, and to bring " their doubts to their own pastors, before they sub- " mit to the authority of others. And I question " not but for this reason, among many, God thought " fit to give them the satisfaction they sought for; " and if others, who are assaulted after this manner, " would take the same course, I doubt not but that " they would find the same success."

If the reader is desirous to know who those ladies (mentioned in the beginning of the paragraph) were, I can only tell him, that one of them was the wife of a worthy person now living, who (for reasons best known to himself) was unwilling her name should be mentioned upon such an occasion by Mr. Nelson; and supposing him to be still of the same opinion, I shall not insert any thing here which may be grating to him. The other was the countess of Newbrugh, for whose sake this treatise was composed: and of her all the account I can at present give is, that she

was daughter and sole heiress of sir Henry Pool, bart., of Salperton, in the county of Gloucester, and wife to Charles Leviston[a], who, for services done the crown in the reign of king Charles the Second, was by him created earl of Newbrugh in the kingdom of Scotland, and held a considerable place in that king's favour as long as he lived. She was a lady (as I have been informed by persons who very well remember her) of great personal endowments; and the reader may collect the same from several passages in the following letter. It seems to have been her mother, the lady Pool[b] of Cirencester, who first advised her to consult my father in this important affair; who, out of a sense of gratitude for this and other services done her family, and to testify the great esteem she had for him, did afterwards, in her last will, appoint him to be her executor[c].

As to the letter itself, I shall forbear giving any character of it, my near relation to the author unqualifying me for such an undertaking. The reader

[a] [This marriage is omitted in all the Peerages which I have seen; and probably because there was no issue from it. Robert Bull was however mistaken in calling the first earl of Newburgh *Charles;* his name was *James* Livingston, or Levingstone: he married first Anne, daughter of sir Henry Poole, and secondly lady Catherine Howard, daughter of Theophilus, earl of Suffolk, and widow of George lord Aubigny, by whom he had Charles the second earl.]

[b] See note[b], p. 148. [c] See the Life of Bishop Bull, p. 41.

himself must judge of that, who (I question not) upon a full perusal of it, will esteem it a performance worthy the author whose name it bears. I will no longer deprive the reader of the satisfaction the following treatise may afford him, than to let him know he is obliged to that worthy gentleman, Mr. Richard Rawlinson, A. M. of St. John's college Oxon. and F.R.S. for the discovery of this manuscript, who for rescuing it from the obscurity it had lain in for almost fifty years, and bestowing it on the public by me, has a just right to the thanks of every one who shall receive advantage from it.

Tortworth,
April 18, 1719.

ROBERT BULL.

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A LETTER

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE COUNTESS OF NEWBRUGH.

MADAM,

I. I HUMBLY beg your ladyship's pardon, that I have not sooner performed my duty, and obeyed your ladyship's desires, (which with me ought to have the force of commands,) by returning an answer to the letter of your Roman catholic friend and relation. The truth is, the letter came from your ladyship to my hands (after a considerable stop) in a very ill season, when I was wholly taken up by other businesses not to be dispensed with; and I do not remember, that in all my life I have had a task imposed on me in so unhappy a conjunction of circumstances[a]: yet some hours I have forcibly snatched from the importunity of those urgent occasions, in which I have made a shift to shape the following answer. In reading whereof, all the favour I shall desire from your ladyship is this. First, That you would trust me in those citations out of the Fathers and learned authors which I produce, till the author of the letter shall prove me guilty of prevarication therein, which I am sure he will never be able to do. Secondly, That your ladyship would excuse

[a] [He probably alludes to the controversies in which he was engaged concerning the Harmonia Apostolica.]

that sharpness of style, which I sometime make use of in my answer. Indeed, the honourable relation to your ladyship, which the author of the letter lays claim to, hath restrained me from handling him as he deserves; but my zeal to the honour of God and his holy truth, so grossly confronted by him, (which I persuade myself is dearer also to your ladyship than your own honour,) hath constrained me sometimes to give him a just rebuke. Having premised these my humble requests unto your ladyship, I shall proceed (without the compliment of any farther preface) to examine whatsoever may seem any way considerable in the letter.

II. That collection of texts of Scripture concerning corporal austerities, which the author of the letter mentions, what it is I know not, your ladyship it seems having forgotten to send it[b], and therefore cannot give him a direct answer to this part of his letter: but, in general, I can give your ladyship St. Paul's determination of the question, 1 Tim. iv. 8: *Bodily exercise profiteth little: but godliness is profitable unto all things*, &c. In the former part of which sentence the apostle acknowledgeth some little use of *bodily exercise*, or corporal austerities, or restraints and castigations laid upon the body: these may be in some degree useful, at least to some persons and in some cases, provided they are kept in the due bounds, tacitly laid down by the apostle otherwhere, Col. ii. 23; where he tells us, these austerities have a show[c] of wisdom in[d] voluntary observ-

[b] I have since received it from the lady P. and find it so inconsiderable, as not to deserve any more particular answer than is here given to it.

[c] Or notion, λόγον ἔχοντα σοφίας. [d] ἐν ἐθελοθρησκείᾳ.

ation, which our translation renders in *will-worship, in humility, in neglecting the body, and not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh.* So that all the show and appearance of wisdom, that such austerities can be allowed to have, consists in these three things: First, that they be undertaken voluntarily and freely, not by imposition from others, not as necessary acts of piety. Secondly, That they be used with humility, not priding ourselves in them as great achievements in religion; not superciliously condemning or despising others who allow themselves a greater (if lawful) freedom than we do. Thirdly, That they be really made use of for the castigation of the body, and not in hypocritical pretence, so as that in the mean time we indulge ourselves in as great delights, or greater than those from which we abstain. I beseech your ladyship to consider these three cautions of the apostle; and then I shall leave it to yourself to judge, how far the austerities, commonly practised in the church of Rome are from being conform to those golden rules. For I am not willing to take the occasion, that is here given me, of laughing at the follies of our adversaries in this particular. Corporal austerities, thus limited, the true sons of the Church of England most willingly admit of and embrace; and I speak from my conscience, that I think those austerities are, in silence, better practised by some of our church, than by the generality of the Romanists that so much glory in them. But it is the latter part of the apostle's determination that we mainly stick to; *Godliness is profitable unto all things;* that is, true piety, consisting in the love of God, and our neighbours as ourselves, together with the fruits and effects

of these, is always and to all persons, useful: indeed this is the *unum necessarium*, that one necessary thing.

III. To this trial we will stand; let that church, that most earnestly presseth this real piety, carry the bell, and be acknowledged for the best church; and if this commendation be found due to the church of Rome, in its present estate, I will never speak a word to dissuade your ladyship from leaving our communion, and casting yourself into the bosom of that church, which is displayed at this day with so alluring a bravery; but will engage myself to attend your ladyship in a voyage to Rome, in the quality of one of your lackeys. The truth is, this very consideration kept me, when I was yet unacquainted with the true state of the controversy between us and the Roman church, from having any affection to the same, although I have not wanted some considerable temptations to entertain better thoughts thereof; for ever since I understood any thing of religion, I have apprehended the certain truth of what St. Paul tells us, Rom. xiv. 17: *That the kingdom of God doth not consist in meat and drink*, and such like external things, but in *righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*: that the soul of piety lies in the piety of the soul; and then observing how the spirits of the Roman devotion spend themselves in outward and external things, leaving the heart and vital parts thereof cold and languishing: how like the pharisees they shew themselves mighty zealots in the little appendages of religion, whilst *they neglect the weightier matters of the law:* how amongst them it is accounted almost (if not altogether) as heinous a

crime to break a frivolous institution of one of their vainly devised orders, as to transgress a direct command of God: how that faction among them that governs the church of Rome, (the Jesuits,) are of all mortals the easiest and loosest casuists in questions that concern the substance of religion: how the corporal austerities they so much boast of, and commonly used by them, are commutations for the great and indispensable duties of Christianity, and umbrages to the foulest vices and impurities: (whence it comes to pass, that the most carnal and sensual protestants are most easily induced to undertake them; and it is to be observed by every one nowadays, that the filth of our church doth empty itself into the sink of Rome:) I say, when I considered these things, I was so far from admiring the church of Rome for that face of religious severity which it hath affected to put on, that that very affectation made me out of love with it, yea, wrought in me a kind of loathing of it: but enough of the corporal austerities of the church of Rome.

IV. In the next place, supposing that the collection of texts of Scripture mentioned had opened to your ladyship a prospect into farther doubts, that is, had puzzled your ladyship, and unsettled you, and so made way for his farther attempts upon your conscience and religion; he proceeded to recommend to your ladyship the perusal of a book, called *the Catholic Scripturist*[e], and promiseth that therein you shall find, not only the faith, but the practice of the

[e] I wonder he should promise himself such great matters from so sorry a scrip of paper. [A second edition of this book was published in 1686.]

church of Rome, in matters of religion, manifestly confirmed by the holy Scriptures. I am sorry I have not the book by me, as your ladyship supposeth; for the book you were pleased to lend me upon taking my leave of your ladyship, when last at London, after a cursory perusal of it, I left with a friend of mine to be speedily returned to your ladyship, with my humble thanks; and by what accident it hath been intercepted I cannot understand. By what I remember of the contents of the book, I may venture to say, it is an errant piece of sophistry, like those that used to be scattered among us by the ministers of the church of Rome. Indeed, if I had the book by me, it would be too long a work for a letter to answer the several chapters thereof; but otherwise the task would be easy; I desire none more facile.

V. However, by its title-page (if I could remember no more) I were able to refute it: *The Catholic Scripturist.* What, doth he mean the Roman Catholic Scripturist? Yes, doubtless: but then your ladyship may presently discern in the very title a contradiction in terms: you may easily see, that the very design of that book is contrary to the professed design and doctrine of the church of Rome: to make this plain, I desire your ladyship to ask the author of the letter these few questions: 1. Are all the points defended in the book, called *the Catholic Scripturist,* clearly proved by the holy Scriptures?

2. Is the belief of these points, (which are all principal ones in controversy betwixt us and the church of Rome,) together with the belief of the other fundamentals of the Christian faith, equally

acknowledged by us and them to be delivered in the holy Scriptures, a belief sufficient unto salvation?

3. Doth not the church of Rome professedly maintain, that all things necessary to be known and believed unto salvation are neither in express terms, or by necessary consequence, delivered and contained in the holy Scriptures, and that there is need of the tradition of the church, as a supply in this case? He cannot (for shame) but answer affirmatively to each of these questions. For as for the first question, it is the professed design of that book to maintain, that all the points undertaken to be defended therein may be proved out of the holy Scriptures; and the author of the letter adds manifestly, and he afterwards tells your ladyship, that he doubts not but that the result of his letter to you, and the book attending it, will end in this admiration: "Who "would have thought it, that the papists could have "so much to say for themselves out of most clear "texts of the word of God[f]?" Indeed, I never so much as dreamed that the papists could, out of the holy Scriptures, produce any thing to the purpose in defence of their tenets concerning image-worship, invocation of saints, transubstantiation, the half-communion, indulgencies, &c. Nor hath the book in the least altered my thoughts and apprehensions.

4. That the points defended in the book, (called *the Catholic Scripturist,*) together with those other points that are on both sides acknowledged to be clearly delivered in the holy Scriptures, do make up

[f] And the Catholic Scripturist tells us, that he would produce for the points most misliked in his religion many and loud-speaking texts. Pref. n. 4.

a full and complete body of catholic principles, or the necessary articles of the Christian faith, he must acknowledge; otherwise, what bounds will he put to the necessary articles of religion? How shall a sincere Christian know when he believes and practiseth that which is sufficient in order to his salvation? And, besides, what other point of the Roman faith can he produce more difficult to be proved out of the holy Scriptures, than those, whose defence is undertaken by the author of *the Catholic Scripturist?* From these two propositions granted, it undeniably follows, that all necessary points of Christian doctrine may be proved out of the holy Scriptures, and that by most clear and manifest texts; which is directly contrary to the known and avowed doctrine of the papists themselves: nay, *the Catholic Scripturist* hath a chapter (if I forget not) concerning tradition; the professed design whereof is to prove, that we must be beholding to tradition for many necessary points of faith, and that the Scripture is not a sufficient rule. I confess I am amazed when I observe with what a fatal stupidity, or rather with what an evil conscience, and how fraudulently, the Romanists defend their cause; but indeed a cause so bad could no otherwise be defended.

VI. Many particular instances of the sophistry of that book I might give your ladyship, if I had it by me; but there is one instance I took special notice of, and wrote my observations in a scrip of paper, because it was a point wherein your ladyship seemed to need satisfaction, viz., the point of invocation of saints. He undertakes not to prove the laudableness of that practice of his church by express Scrip-

tures, but by necessary consequences from certain principles clearly delivered in Scripture. The principles he lays down, point 36. n. 2. p. 235: "1. That "the angels and saints, with God, can hear our "prayers. 2. That they can and will help us." From these principles he draws this conclusion; "Therefore it is laudable to pray to them." I will not quarrel (at present) with the consequence, but inquire only how he proves the antecedent. Many, yea most of the principal texts, whereby he endeavours to demonstrate his two principles, are taken out of the Old Testament: when he comes to his 37th point, (which is the first of his principles,) "That the angels and saints can hear our prayers," he proves it especially by texts that are either taken out of, or at least have reference to, the Old Testament. Thus, (num. 4.) from Luke xvi. 26. he observes, (like a learned divine arguing from such passages in a parable, which do not in the least belong to the scope thereof,) that *though there be a great gulf fixed between the souls of Abraham and Dives, yet God gave them some means to hear what each of them said;* from whence he makes his inference by way of question: "Can he then find no "means for saints to hear us?" This text is indeed taken out of the New Testament, but it hath a manifest reference to the state of Abraham, and the saints departed under the Old Testament. But, num. 5, he professedly produceth one text out of the Old Testament, which he tells us he had kept as a reserve, to declare how saints, even there, knew what passed. It concerns the writing that came from Elias after his death (as is supposed) to king Joram, 2 Chron. xxi. 12. In the 38th point, he

delivers his second principle, together with the conclusion drawn from both, in these words: "That "saints can and will help us; therefore it is laud- "able to pray to them." How proves he this? (num. 4.) "That by the merits of saints we may "beg and obtain favours," he proves, from 1 Kings xv. 5. and Isai. xxxvii. 35. And (num. 5.) he tells us, that "the power which the prayers of saints "have, and that they use carefully to pray for us, is "often expressed in Scripture;" where he cites Jerem. xv. 1. and Ezek. xiv. 14. 20. and the instance of Elias's care to assist his people after his death, mentioned in the former point, (num. 5,) and the famous vision of Judas Maccabæus, 2 Macc. xv. 12. All these texts are again out of the Old Testament: and he proceeds (num. 6.) to prove the same thing from Dives's praying to Abraham, Luke xvi. 27, which texts I have already observed to have reference to the saints departed under the Old Testament.

VII. Now, after this laborious proof out of the Old Testament of both the foundations of invocation of saints, viz., That the saints can hear our prayers; 2. That they can and will help us; who would not conclude according to the author's own way of reasoning, "That it was a laudable practice "to pray to saints even under the Old Testament?" But the Catholic Scripturist himself will by no means own this conclusion. For in the 38th point, num. 1. p. 253, he expressly tells us, that "of pray- "ing to saints the Old Testament could not write, "no saints being as then in heaven." For the understanding of which, your ladyship may please to observe, that these two hypotheses are generally re-

ceived among the papists: 1. That the saints departed this life since the ascension of our Saviour, are in the third heaven, and do enjoy the beatific vision; and that in the glass of the holy Trinity, or some other way, they do see or understand the particular necessities of men on earth; and therefore may rationally be invocated and prayed unto. So the author of *the Catholic Scripturist*, point 36. numb. 1, being to enter upon his head province, of proving the invocation of saints and angels out of Scripture, lays down this as his foundation, in these express words, for the ground of this question: "I "lay this foundation out of Scripture, that as the "angels are in heaven, so the souls of the saints go "directly from hence to heaven, without they have "some few offences to clear in purgatory." 2. That the souls of the faithful, that died before our Saviour, went not to heaven, enjoyed not the beatific vision, nay, were not so much as in paradise; but contrarily were in a state of confinement, and shut up in a sorry place, which they call *limbus patrum;* and that our Saviour, after his death, descended to that place, to fetch and deliver them from thence; and consequently that it would have been an absurd thing for men, under the Old Testament, to pray to saints departed for help, that were in a condition wherein they needed help themselves. And yet the author of *the Catholic Scripturist*, who acknowledgeth both these doctrines of his church, hath the impudence to attempt the proof out of the Old Testament of both his principles, whereon he grounds invocation of saints; viz., that the saints can hear our prayers, and that they can and will help us; and consequently, that it is laudable to pray unto

them. And it is pretty to observe again, how directly he contradicts himself in this question: we have already heard him acknowledge there could be no such thing as praying to saints, delivered in the Old Testament. Why? Because the saints then were not in heaven. If there could be no such thing taught, there could be no such thing laudably practised, under the Old Testament; and yet that invocation of saints was practised, and that laudably too, under the Old Testament, he otherwhere plainly enough affirms, (point 38. num. 5. p. 258,) where having spoken of the vision of Judas Maccabæus, 2 Macc. xv. 12, wherein he saw Onias the high priest, (and chief of God's people,) dead, and Jeremiah the prophet dead long before, praying for the people of the Jews, he adds, "We have from thence, "that the most holy high priest, and chief of God's "only people, believed that saints prayed for us, and "helped us; and that all the people (who were said to "be encouraged by this vision) were of the same be-"lief. How far then is this from all novelty, which "can be proved to have been practised before the days "of the apostles?" &c. Now, what is the practice which he affirms can be proved from the history of the Maccabees to be clear of all novelty, and to have been in use in these days? He must, if he will acknowledge himself to have written sense, confess, he meant the practice of praying to saints; so that under the Old Testament there could not be any such thing as invocation of saints, departed this life, laudably practised; and yet such a thing there was even under the Old Testament practised, and that laudably. What a rare art have these men of reconciling both parts of a contradiction! But it is

no wonder that this little author hath in this controversy split himself against the rock of so evident a contradiction: seeing there that great Bellarmine himself also underwent the same fate before him. For he, as well as our Catholic Scripturist, produceth divers texts out of the Old Testament, to prove invocation of saints, in the place where he treats of that subject; but otherwhere, he makes this ingenuous confession: "Before the coming of Christ, "the saints, which died, entered not into heaven, "neither did they see God; nor could they ordi- "narily know the prayers of those that supplicated "to them; and therefore it was not the custom for "men under the Old Testament to say, Holy Abra- "ham, pray for me; but the men of those times "only prayed to God g." Where, by the way, your ladyship may please to observe, that Bellarmine expressly confesseth, that men under the Old Testament "prayed only unto God," and therefore not to the saints; no, nor angels neither. But the author of *the Catholic Scripturist* (as indeed Bellarmine himself otherwhere) professedly maintained, that men, under the Old Testament at least, prayed unto the holy angels. What sincere Christian is there, (who hath his eyes open to see these things,) who doth not abominate such egregious prevarications in the great matters of salvation?

VIII. Let us now come to the New Testament: and here, before we enter upon the testimonies pro-

g Ante Christi adventum sancti qui moriebantur non intrabant in cœlum, nec Deum videbant, nec cognoscere poterant ordinarie preces supplicantium. Ideo non fuit consuetum in V. Test. ut diceretur, Sancte Abraham, ora pro me; sed solum orabant homines ejus temporis Deum. *Bel.* I. 19. *de Beat. Sanct.*

duced for invocation of saints out of the New Testament, we have this strong prejudice against it: that if men under the Old Testament, (wherein Christ, as mediator, was not clearly revealed,) and the saints, knew not (at least generally) the new and living way of drawing nigh unto God, and offering up their prayers in the name of Christ; (whence our Saviour himself, just before his death, saith of his apostles, who were born and bred in the Jewish religion, that *hitherto they had asked nothing in his name*, John xvi. 24;) I say, if men under the Old Testament could make a shift to pray to God acceptably, without the mediation of saints, then much more may we do well enough without it now under the Gospel, wherein Christ, the only mediator between God and man, is perfectly and fully revealed; but I shall let this pass, (though it be an observation that utterly overthrows all necessity of using the mediation of saints under the New Testament,) and follow the steps of the Catholic Scripturist. Concerning the four Gospels we have his full confession (point 38. num. 1. p. 253,) in these words: "The "four Gospels writ no farther than the ascension "of Christ to heaven; before which no saint also "was in heaven; wherefore you need not wonder, "that in the four Gospels you see no mention of "praying to saints in heaven." Indeed we do not at all wonder at this, being able to render a much better account of this silence of the four evangelists; but we wonder much at the impudent sophistry of this writer, who, within a few pages after he had made this confession, (viz. num. 6.[h]) cited two testi-

[h] See also point 37. num. 4. p. 248.

monies out of the evangelists, to prove invocation of saints, viz., Luke xvi. 27. and 9. of the same chapter. He proceeds in the very next words to the Epistles of St. Paul[1]. "In St. Paul's Epistles," saith he, "you find him begging prayers of saints on earth: "so Heb. xiii. 18. *Pray for us.* Seeing then that "prayer to saints in heaven is more beneficial to us, "it is also (by manifest consequence) more to be "used by us." A childish sophism; so often and so shamefully baffled by our writers, that I wonder again at his impudence in producing it, and that as a manifest consequence. Indeed, who sees not the difference between the communication of prayers amongst the faithful living on earth, which the Scripture speaks of, and the practice of invocating saints departed, which the papists defend? For, 1. To entreat a saint living on earth, that he would, together with us, pray unto God for the obtaining of any benefit to us, is not religiously to invocate that saint, but invite him to the religious invocation of God on our behalf: but the papists, in their invocation of saints, do profess to give them religious worship, and stiffly maintain (witness *the Catholic Scripturist* himself, point 36.) that such worship is due unto them; and accordingly they invocate saints with all the circumstances of religious worship: they rashly enshrine their images, and exalt them on high, and fall prostrate before them, &c. 2. The papists do not only desire the saints to pray for them unto God that he would help them, but also pray unto the saints themselves that they would help them; and from them expect help. This is apparent from many of their offices, especially such as

[1] Page 253, 254.

are directed to the blessed Virgin. 3. When we beg the prayers of a saint on earth, that is present with us, we attribute to him nothing above human nature; but when papists invocate the souls of departed saints, they ascribe to them a power of hearing those that are absent; of hearing an infinite number of supplicants, at a vast distance from each other, praying to them at the same time; and that of hearing them so, as to understand with what inward affection they pray, and to know the secrets of their hearts, which are powers above human nature, though never so much exalted; yea, proper to God alone.

IX. All the remaining texts produced by him out of the New Testament are taken out of the dark and mysterious book of the Revelations. And though it be in a serious matter, a man can hardly restrain his laughter, that observes how pleasantly he argues from them. The first text cited (point 38. num. 6. p. 258.) is Revel. ii. 26, 27, *And he that overcometh, and keepeth my words unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers.* Bless us! what argument can the conjurer raise out of this text, to prove invocation of saints? "The saints," saith he, "having authority to rule nations so "powerfully, (as is here expressed by a rod or "sceptre of iron,) they exercise this their power "chiefly, by making intercession so powerfully to "God for us, as to obtain for us such graces as we "stand most in need of." A forcible collection, if your ladyship shall please to grant the poor beggar these two suppositions: 1. That these texts speak

of the souls of the saints departed in the state of separation, and in the interval between their death and the last resurrection[k]. 2. *That to rule the nations with a rod of iron, and to break them in pieces as a potter's vessel*, signifieth, "to make intercession so powerfully to God for them, as to "obtain for them such graces as they most stand in "need of." Another text is, Rev. v. 8, *The four beasts and the four and twenty elders fell before the Lamb, having every one harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of the saints.* Here again your ladyship must be so kind to the author, as to grant, that the four beasts and four and twenty elders are the souls of departed saints in the state of separation, which indeed would be a liberal concession. If he asks me, what else is meant by the four beasts and the four and twenty elders? I answer, in the words of Cajetan, (a learned writer of their own,) concerning this whole book of the Revelation, "Let him that can expound it[l]." St. Austin, by the four beasts, understands the four evangelists; (of which St. John, who wrote the Revelation, was one;) and shews from some writers[m] before him, how aptly they are signified by the four several beasts described by St. John, Revel. iv. 6, 7. And Zegerus, a learned expositor among the Romanists, tells us, that "Interpreters for the most "part agree in this, that the four beasts signify the

[k] The texts seem to intend the judiciary power which the saints shall receive at Christ's second coming, or at the day of judgment: of which read Matt. xix. 28. 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3.

[l] Exponat, qui potest.

[m] Lib. I. de Consens. Evang.

"four evangelists[n]." H. Grotius, by the four beasts, understands the four apostles, or apostolical persons, then at Jerusalem. By the twenty-four elders, the most learned interpreters[o] understand, the governors and bishops of the church in St. John's time, who, say they, are therefore reckoned twenty-four, to answer to the twenty-four courses of the priests appointed by David under the Old Testament, 1 Chron. xxiv. Surely the Greek word πρεσβύτεροι, which St. John here useth, signifieth presbyters, or priests; and I hope the papists, though they embrace for oracles the idle dotages of their counterfeit Dionysius, concerning the hierarchy of angels, yet will not dream so far, as to fancy an order of presbyters among *the spirits of just men made perfect*. Besides, it appears that the prayers, which these four beasts and the twenty-four elders had in their golden vials, were their own prayers; and those not petitory, but eucharistical; not petitions, but thanksgivings. I say this appears from the words immediately following, ver. 9, wherein they are said, in a solemn hymn, to have given thanks to Christ for their redemption, and the redemption of the whole church by the blood of Christ. And, however, let the four beasts and twenty-four elders, or presbyters, be what the Catholic Scripturist shall please to fancy them, yet it is certain, that in this text there is not the least intimation of any prayers made, or any religious worship performed to them. His last text is, Rev. viii. 3, 4: *And another angel*

[n] Fere consentiunt explanatores, 4 animantia, 4 evangelistas accipientes. *Zeger. in Apoc.* iv. 6, 7.

[o] Vid. Lyrum, Zeger. et Grot. in Apoc. iv. 4.

came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given to him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand. To this I answer, first, This text concerns the angels only, and hath not the least relation to the saints departed; and we are now inquiring chiefly concerning invocation of saints. Secondly, This text is variously interpreted by the writers of the church of Rome themselves: some expounding this angel of Christ, others of Michael the archangel, others of the angels in general[p]. Thirdly, This text describeth only a prophetical vision; wherein to conceit every thing to be real and argumentative, would be as absurd as to argue from all the little circumstances of a parable; (which, indeed, is the usual way of arguing of the Catholic Scripturist, for want of better topics;) and then we must fancy an altar before the throne of God, and a golden censer in the hand of the angel, and incense burnt therein, and the smoke thereof ascending before the throne of God; that is, we must turn the text into smoke. Fourthly, Let the papists make their best advantage of this text, it will appear to be nothing to their purpose: the utmost that can be gathered from hence is, 1. that the angels are conscious to some prayers of the saints on earth, as being present (especially) at the public services of the church, and beholding the decorum used there, 1 Cor. xi. 10. And what sober pro-

[p] Vide Zegerum in loc.

testant ever denied this? 2. That those blessed spirits, as they do descend from their heavenly habitations, to take notice of the services performed by us mortals, so they ascend to heaven again, and, as it were, make their returns, and give a report of what they hear and see to be done and performed of us. 3. That they join their devotions with ours, their heavenly hallelujahs with our imperfect praises, yea, and their hearty Amen to all our prayers; wishing, out of their fervent charity and burning love, all the good things unto us that we pray for.

And all this is acknowledged by some writers of the church in the purer ages, (as your ladyship will by and by understand,) who yet never acknowledged the invocation of angels, much less of saints, but utterly rejected both, as derogatory to the honour of God and Christ the mediator. And the Catholic Scripturist himself (as great a stock of confidence as he hath) durst not affirm, that the prayers of the saints, mentioned in this text, and said to be offered up by the angel, were made to the angel himself, but to God. So he tells us, immediately before his citation of this text, "that Raphael offered the "prayers made (to whom?) to God by Toby." And then, what is all this to his purpose?

X. Let us now (with your ladyship's leave) cast up the account, and we shall find the total sum of all the texts, that can with any colour of reason be pretended by our Catholic Scripturist to prove invocation of saints, to amount to a very slender number; for, by his own confession, all the texts alleged out of the Old Testament are to be deducted (which are the greatest number) as impertinent, yea, sophistically produced, seeing it is acknowledged not

only that there was not, but that there could not be any such thing as invocation of saints taught under the Old Testament, no saint being then in heaven. Upon the same ground all the texts alleged out of the four Gospels are to be deducted also, because none of them reach any farther than Christ's ascension, before which time no saint was yet in heaven; so that when your ladyship meets with any text for invocation of saints, cited out of any book of Scripture, from Genesis to the end of St. John's Gospel, you may be assured, from the confession of the papists themselves, that it is nothing to the purpose; and a few remaining texts out of St. Paul's Epistles and the Revelation of St. John, your ladyship hath seen also how impertinent they are. And now what is become of that formidable and numerous army of Scripture testimonies for *praying to saints*, which the author had with so much ostentation brought into the field, to encourage the Roman catholic, and to affright the protestant reader, and to abuse both? It is gone and vanished, and there appears not one text that will stand the ground in defence of so desperate a cause.

XI. But there is one text in the New Testament, (which the Catholic Scripturist himself is forced to produce,) wherein the religious worship (and so the invocation) of angels, and therefore much more of saints, is plainly forbidden: the text is, Coloss. ii. 18, 19: *Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind, and not holding the Head*, &c.; where the apostle expressly forbids the religious worship of angels, and obviates also the

specious pretence of the Romanists, whereby they endeavour to colour that unchristian practice. The pretence is humility, and that they dare not in their prayers, by reason of their unworthiness, approach immediately unto God, but by degrees and steps, addressing themselves to the holy angels, and by them making their supplications to Almighty God. The apostle assures us, that this pretence is a mere cheat and fraud, serving to no other purpose than to beguile souls; and that (this pretence notwithstanding) the practice of invocating and worshipping angels is both vain and sinful. 1. Vain and rash; because hereby men[r] intrude into those things they have not seen. They know not the nature and names, the distinct orders and offices of angels, or when they are present and when not; and yet they pray unto them and worship them. 2. Sinful and wicked; for hereby they, after a sort, forsake Christ, and hold not the Head of angels, principalities, and powers; that is, they do not acknowledge Christ, the head of all angels, principalities, and powers, to be a sufficient mediator between God and man; but seek out for other mediators beside him. Now what saith the Catholic Scripturist to this text? I beseech your ladyship seriously to weigh the answers which he gives, point 36. num. 8. p. 242, 243. he tells us, that St. Paul could not forbid the worship of angels, which St. John practised, &c. Rev. xix. 10. and xxii. 8. Why not? seeing the angel himself, to whom St. John offered to perform that worship, forbade it and refused it. But, saith the sophister, he forbade it not

[r] Ἃ μὴ ἑώρακεν ἐμβατεύων.

as unlawful, but as unbecoming the dignity of St. John, who was a very great prophet and apostle; and by his office equal to angels. How vain this shift is your ladyship will easily discern, if you consider the angel, in the texts cited, forbids the worship which St. John was about to give him, by such reasons as equally extend to all Christians: 1. He tells him, he was σύνδουλος, his *fellow-servant*, no master of his, to be worshipped by him; but a creature, obliged to worship and serve the supreme God, no less than himself. 2. He expressly forbids this worship offered to him by St. John, as due only to God; for in both the texts cited, after the angel had forbidden St. John to worship him, he adds, *worship God;* as if he should say, That worship which thou art about to offer me is due only to God, and therefore to him alone do thou give it. 3. In the latter text, cited Rev. xxii. 9, there is an express clause, which is so general, as to comprehend all other Christians no less than St. John, or the prophets and apostles, as not obliged, yea, forbidden to worship angels. The words are, *I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book;* that is, all obedient Christians, which therefore are by this text no less exempted from the worship of angels than St. John himself was. But he urgeth, "By this you "make St. John guilty of idolatry, in worshipping "an angel, no less than you pretend us Roman ca- "tholics to be." I answer, this is most false; for we say that St. John, surprised with the heavenly glory, and transported with the glad tidings of the marriage-supper in the former text, and the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem in the latter, worshipped

the angel that was the messenger of the one, and the revealer of the other, not knowing, or at least not considering, who he was; and, being warned, forbore to proceed in that his error and mistake. But the papists knowingly, wittingly, deliberately, and professedly worship angels, and being warned by this example of St. John, and the express prohibition of St. Paul, and many other admonitions of Scripture, will not give it over, but still obstinately persist in their sinful practice.

But I wonder the Catholic Scripturist should so far forget his own catechism; for the Trent catechism (which I am sure he dares not disown) expressly acknowledgeth [s], that the honour that St. John was about to give unto the angel, was *an honour due unto God only*, and upon that account forbidden; and some of the most learned authors [t] among the Romanists acknowledge the same. But, secondly, Let us examine the direct answer which he gives to the above-cited text, in these words: "The truth is, St. Paul speaks only of such reli-"gious worship of angels, as had been taught among "the Jews by Simon Magus, who would have sacri-"fice offered to all angels, as well evil as good, &c. "And this is that which is condemned in the coun-"cil of Laodicea." The plain sense of which answer is this: That St. Paul forbids not the worship of good angels, but only of bad angels, or devils. But sure the Catholic Scripturist is a man of a very forlorn understanding, if he really believes this answer

[s] In Explic. Præcept. 1.

[t] Vide Baron. Annal. tom. I. ad ann. 60. Greg. de Valentia, lib. I. de Idolatria, cap. 4. Coster. Enchirid. cap. 16. Sol. Object. 7. Aquin. Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. 84.

to be the truth; for St. Paul prohibits the worship of angels in general. Now if he had meant that good angels may be worshipped, but bad not, he ought to have made a distinction, unless he intended grossly to deceive his reader. 2. St. Paul speaks of all those angels and principalities of which Christ is the head, 10th and 19th verses: and I hope the good angels are not to be excluded from this number. Nay Christ, in the most proper sense, is the head of the good angels alone. 3. St. Paul speaks to a Christian church, *the saints and faithful brethren which are at Colosse*, chap. i. 2. These he cautions to take heed of the worship of angels; and implies, that they were prone to that worship which he forbids. Now sure they were very sorry saints that were inclined to worship devils. 4. He tells us also, that the angel-worship which he forbids, was gilded over with a specious pretence, with a show of humility, viz., in not daring to approach the supreme God but by his ministers, the holy angels. But what specious pretence could there be for the worship of devils, the enemies of God? What show of humility, or any other Christian virtue, could set off so hellish and damnable a practice? I should dishonour your ladyship's understanding, if I should dwell any longer in the refutation of so senseless an interpretation: so that from the text of St. Paul, (notwithstanding all the cavils of the Catholic Scripturist,) I have leave to conclude, that the worship and invocation of angels (and therefore much more of saints departed) is sinful and unlawful. What he adds concerning the council of Laodicea, that this devil-worship was the only thing condemned by the Fathers thereof, all the learned know to be an im-

pudent falsehood. They condemn the same worship of angels which St. Paul forbids; and their decree hath respect to the same countries, which the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians condemns. For Laodicea, where that council assembled, was the metropolis of Phrygia, and not far from Colosse; so that it seems, the same superstitious practice of worshipping angels, which had its beginning among the Colossians in St. Paul's time, took such deep root, as to continue in that part of the world till the time of the council of Laodicea, that is, above two hundred years after; which again renders it utterly improbable, that this angel-worship should be the worship of evil angels or devils; for so detestable a practice could not continue so long, at least among those that still bore the name of Christians, such as the persons concerned in the decree of the council of Laodicea are expressly acknowledged to be. In a word, that council doth in general terms, and without any distinction, forbid Christians to name [y], that is, invocate or pray unto angels.

XII. I have this to add concerning invocation of saints, in reference to the New Testament, (if after what hath been said, it be not superfluous to add any thing more,) that whereas the Catholic Scripturist (as we have heard) [z] professedly lays down this as the ground of his discourse concerning praying to saints: that the saints, when they die, go immediately to the third heaven, and there enjoy the beatific vision; this foundation is utterly subverted

[y] Ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν, i. e. *Angelos invocare.* Vide 2 Tim. ii. 19. collat. cum 1 Cor. i. 2. De vera autem concilii sententia conf. Zonar. Comm. in Concil. Laodic. canon 35.

[z] See also point 37. num. 2.

by the doctrine of the catholic church in the first ages: for the church of God for some ages after the apostles believed, that the souls of the faithful, in the state of separation, though they are in a happy condition in paradise, yet are not in the third heaven, nor do enjoy the beatific vision till the resurrection. If the author of the Letter, or the Catholic Scripturist, shall deny this, I will forfeit all my credit with your ladyship, if I do not fully prove it by very many and very manifest testimonies out of primitive antiquity. Nay, this was a doctrine so generally received in the time of Justin Martyr [a], that is, in the first succession of the apostles, that we learn from the same Justin, that there were none but some profligate heretics that believed the souls of the faithful, before the resurrection, to be received into heaven itself. And indeed the Scriptures of the New Testament, as they do assure us that the souls of the faithful, departed this life, are in Abraham's bosom, Luke xvi. 23, or in paradise, Luke xxiii. 43, so they do plainly enough intimate, that paradise and the third heaven are distinct places, 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3, 4. And so the Jews [b], from whom the notion and very term of paradise was derived, universally believed; and it is most certain, that our Saviour Christ, whose soul went to paradise presently upon his death, ascended not to the third heaven till after his resurrection. Now the particular knowledge, which the saints departed are supposed to have of things done upon earth, depends, according to the papist, on their enjoying the beatific vision; and

[a] Dialog. cum Tryphone, p. 306, 307. edit. Paris, 1636. [c. 80. p.178.] Vide et pag. 223. [c. 5. p.107.]

[b] Vide Grot. in Lucæ c. xxiii. 43.

upon this knowledge the particular intercession of the saints in heaven is founded, and that again is the foundation of invocation of saints. Hence it follows, that the prime foundation of invocation of saints, laid by the papists, is overthrown by the general consent of the purest and best ages of the church of Christ, and that most agreeably also to the Scriptures of the New Testament.

XIII. And accordingly it is very apparent, that there was no such thing practised in the church (by the catholics I mean) as invocation of saints for at least three hundred years after Christ. Let the author of the letter produce any one testimony to the purpose, out of any writer of these ages, that is not by learned men of his own party acknowledged and confessed to be suppositious and forged, and I will yield them the whole cause in this controversy. This is a very liberal offer; and yet I will stand to it, and do not fear in the least that the protestant cause will be any loser by it. Nay, it is manifest that the church of Christ, in those purer ages, professedly disowned the invocation of any creature, saint, or angel, as derogatory to the honour of God, who alone is to be invocated through Christ the only mediator. I will give your ladyship one illustrious testimony, that shall reach as far as about two hundred and fifty years after Christ. Origen[c], defending the Christian religion against Celsus, a profane derider of it, and answering a cavil of his concerning the holy angels, declares the opinion and practice of the Christian church in his age in these express words: "We confess, indeed, that the angels

[c] Contra Cels. l. V. p. 233. edit. Cantab. [c. 4. p. 579.]

" are certain *ministering spirits sent forth* by God
" *to minister unto them that are heirs of salvation;*
" and that they do one while ascend to the pure
" celestial places, yea, to the purer supercelestial
" regions, offering up the prayers of men; another
" while descend from thence, bringing back to every
" man, as he is found worthy, somewhat of those
" things they are appointed by God to minister unto
" them that are favoured by him. These spirits we
" are taught, from their office, to call angels; and
" we find that, by reason of a certain divinity that is
" in them, they are sometimes in the Scripture called
" gods; yet this is not to be understood, as if we
" were commanded to adore them, or give them di-
" vine worship, although they minister and convey
" the good things of God unto us. For all prayers,
" all intercessions, deprecations, and thanksgivings,
" ought to be directed to God, the Lord of all things,
" by our High Priest, who is greater than all angels,
" the living Word and God. For to invocate the
" angels without the knowledge of them, of which
" mortals are incapable, would be unreasonable. And
" if we should suppose that we could attain the ad-
" mirable and hidden knowledge of them, so as to
" understand their nature and several offices, yet
" this would not warrant us with confidence to in-
" vocate any other besides the supreme God, who is
" abundantly able to supply all our wants by our
" Saviour, the Son of God. And this is enough to
" make the angels our friends, and ready to do us
" any good office, that we are pious towards God,
" and, as far as our mortal nature is able, imitate
" their virtues, who themselves also do imitate
" God."

I beseech your ladyship seriously to weigh the several things contained in this testimony. This ancient and famous writer doth here plainly teach, 1. That the angels, who stand before the face of God in heaven, are by no means to be invocated; much less then the saints, who are supposed by the church of God (as we have before shewn) to be yet, at least, *a little lower than the angels*. 2. That the angels are blessed instruments, betwixt God and us, of conveying our prayers to God, and the good things of God to us, and yet are not to be invocated; how much less then the saints departed, to whom no such ordinary ministry is attributed, either in Scripture or antiquity? 3. That the angels are called in Scripture gods, which is more than the souls of the departed saints are, and yet they are not to be invocated. 4. That invocation is a part of divine worship, and therefore not to be given to any creature: and therefore, 5. That all sorts of prayers are to be directed to God only by Christ, the only mediator, and that we have no warrant to direct them to any other. 6. That to invocate God in Christ is sufficient, without having recourse to any other mediators; because God alone is able to supply all our wants. 7. That the pretence of those that tell us that it is a prudent course to pray to angels, that so we may make them our friends, and procure them to use their interest in heaven in our behalf, is vain; because the best and only way to procure friendship of these blessed spirits, is sincerely to serve and worship God alone, according to our measures, as they do. I know not how all the cavils and little pretences of the Romanists, in this question, could have been more clearly obviated in so few words. 8. All

this he delivers as the known and professed doctrine of the church in his time, opposed to the philosophy of the heathen, concerning worshipping of demons. And who sees not, if there had been any such practice of invocating saints or angels amongst Christians in those days, as is now in the church of Rome, the objection of Celsus would have been perfectly groundless and ridiculous, and the answer of Origen a gross falsehood.

To return thither from whence I have somewhat digressed, from the premises it manifestly appears, that, according to the principles acknowledged by the papists themselves, there could be no such thing as invocation of saints recommended or practised in the Old Testament; and that, according to the grounds received by the primitive Christians that lived nearest to the apostles, (and who certainly, if the apostles had taught either by writing or oral tradition any such practice, could not be so universally ignorant thereof,) invocation of saints is not, cannot be taught or delivered in the New Testament, and, consequently, that the author of *the Catholic Scripturist* declares himself an egregious sophister, when he undertakes to prove their doctrine by clear texts out of both the Old and New Testament. And therefore some more learned and ingenuous papists (who had not so hard a forehead as the Catholic Scripturist) have plainly, and in downright terms acknowledged, that the practice of their church, in praying to saints, is nowhere taught in the Old or New Testament. To omit others that I might cite, if I had room and leisure, we have a full confession of Barmes[d],

[d] Orationes esse ad sanctos faciendas, neque expresse neque involute sacræ literæ docent. 2. 2. Quæst. Art. 10.

a known author among the Romanists; "That pray-"ers," saith he, "are to be made to saints, the holy "Scriptures do neither expressly nor covertly teach "us."

XIV. I have one instance more, (fresh in my memory,) wherein the fraud and deceit of the Catholic Scripturist is very conspicuous. One of the points he undertakes to prove out of Scripture is the half communion, or receiving the sacrament only in one kind, viz., the bread, practised and (not only so, but) enjoined in the church of Rome. I know your ladyship to be well versed in the holy Scriptures, and therefore humbly beseech you only to recollect what you have read therein concerning this matter; as, That our Saviour instituted and commanded the sacrament to be received in both kinds, Matthew xxvi. 26, 27, 28; and that every institution and command of Christ, especially in so important a matter as is the great sacrament and most mysterious rite of Christianity, ought with all possible care and exactness of religion to be observed, 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24, 25; that St. Paul, in pursuance of our Saviour's institution, enjoins, that every Christian, after due examination, should not only *eat of the bread*, but also *drink of the cup* in the sacrament, 1 Cor. xi. 28, that it appears the apostolic church did accordingly receive the sacrament in both kinds, 1 Cor. xi. 26, 27, 29. and x. 21, and then I shall leave it to your ladyship's conscience to judge of the intolerable impudence of those hectors in divinity, who dare undertake the proof of such things out of Scripture, as may be discerned by all to be manifestly repugnant thereunto. Indeed, that the Romanists have no ground in Scripture, or primitive antiquity, to rob

the laity of one half of the communion, is plainly confessed by that very council which first established this sacrilege; I mean the council of Constance. For the Fathers of that council (if it be lawful to give that venerable title to a sorry convention of men so wholly regardless of the command of Christ, and the practice of the apostolic church, yea, of the whole church of God, for [c]many ages after) in express terms acknowledge, that Christ instituted the sacrament to be received in both kinds, yea, that it was so administered and received in the primitive church; yet, with a *non obstante*, notwithstanding all this, they boldly and blasphemously decree against communion in both kinds, as a thing dangerous and scandalous; and the decree denounceth excommunication to the priest that shall dare to administer the sacrament as Christ appointed. I wrong them not. All this is plainly delivered in the thirteenth session of that council. And think you not, madam, that those were rare Scripturists? What Christian is there that bears any due honour to Christ, or respect or reverence to his commands, whose soul doth not rise up against such an antichristian decree? But where lies the danger and scandal of communicating in both kinds, that the council speaks of? Cardinal Cajetan[f] (who was best able to explain this mystery) tells us in these words: "It is morally im-

[c] De administratione S. S. sacramenti eucharistiæ satis compertum est, universalem Christi ecclesiam in hunc usque diem, occidentalem vero seu Romanam mille amplius a Christo annis, in solenni præsertim et ordinaria hujus sacramenti dispensatione, utramque panis et vini speciem omnibus ecclesiæ Christi membris exhibuisse. *Cassand. Consult. Art.* 22. *De utraque Specie Sacramenti.*

[f] In 3. Aquin. Quæst. 80.

" possible that so many people should communicate " in both kinds, without spilling the blood under " the species of wine: now to expose the blood of " Christ to this danger is an act of irreverence, " yea, a sacrilege, imputable to the people and their " governors." He adds, " that this is the chief and " solid foundation of the custom introduced of the " people's communicating in one kind only." I confess I could not read these words of Cajetan without horror. For doth it not here follow, that Christ, by instituting the sacrament in both kinds, (I tremble again to utter it,) unavoidably exposed his own blood to irreverence and sacrilege? that the whole primitive church, (wherein communion in both kinds is confessed by the papists themselves to be practised,) both the people, and their bishops, and governors, were chargeable with irreverence and sacrilege done to the blood of Christ; or, to speak in St. Paul's phrase, *were guilty of the blood of our Lord?*

But who sees not that the sacrilege is here chargeable on the church of Rome, which hath robbed the faithful of one half of the blessed sacrament, the cup of our Lord, to which they had a right by the institution of Christ, and the happy enjoyment and possession whereof they were invested with by the prescription and practice of the catholic church for many ages together after the apostles? For when they tell us, that the people receive a perfect sacrament only in one kind, because both the body and blood of Christ are truly and perfectly contained under each species of the sacrament, they egregiously prevaricate in a matter of great concernment to the souls of men. For, 1. If this be true, then our Saviour did superfluously institute the sacra-

ment to be received in both kinds: for if there be a perfect sacrament in one kind only, to what purpose did Christ institute the other? 2. It is most false, that the body and blood of Christ are sacramentally in each element: for it is the bread only that doth sacramentally signify and exhibit the body of Christ, and the wine only that doth sacramentally signify and exhibit the blood of Christ. 3. That, which doth not perfectly represent and set forth the death and passion of our Lord, is no perfect sacrament; (for this is the very end of this divine institution, *to shew forth the Lord's death*, 1 Cor. xi. 26;) but communion only in one kind, viz., the bread, doth not perfectly represent the death and passion of our Lord Jesus: therefore communion only in one kind is no perfect sacrament. The effusion and shedding of Christ's blood on the cross, (which is so considerable a part of his passion, as that it is every where emphatically insisted on in the Scriptures of the New Testament, and Christ himself in the very institution of the sacrament urgeth it, when, consecrating the cup, he saith, *This cup is the new testament in my blood, which was shed for many*, Matt. xxvi. 28. 1 Cor. xi. 25,) I say, this effusion of Christ's blood is in the communion only of the bread so far from being perfectly, that it is not at all represented, but totally obscured. And therefore, 4. Some of the more ancient and learned writers among the papists themselves have plainly confessed, that communion in one kind is but an imperfect sacrament: so Durandus[g], "This sacrament was ordained of God for "a spiritual refection, which is signified by the cor- "poral; and it is not a perfect refection, unless

[g] In Sentent. Lombard. Com. lib. IV. distinct. 7. qu. 1. p. 693.

" therein somewhat be propounded of meat and " something of drink." So Tapperus [h], " Although " whole Christ be under both species, yet he works " according to the signification of them, and under " one useth his body as an instrument, under the " other his blood. And seeing the sacraments con- " fer the grace which they signify, where the signi- " fication is more perfect, there the effect also must " needs be more full and complete." And before these our Halensis, " Receiving under both kinds " (which manner of receiving our Lord delivered) is " of greater efficacy and perfection [i]." I leave it now to your ladyship to judge how kind a mother the church of Rome is, which for so long a time hath debarred her sons of the refreshment and comfort of a perfect sacrament, and condemned them to a mutilated, maimed, and half communion. Indeed the cause is so plain, that we might well wonder the church of Rome hath not long since retracted this her rash, erroneous, and dangerous determination, did we not know and were assured, that that church (or rather court) is swayed and guided wholly (not by the maxims of piety and conscience, but) by carnal policy. If she should recant, and restore to the faithful their right to the blessed cup, it would follow, (they are the words of Gerson [k], a famous writer among the papists,) " that the church of

[h] Tapperus apud Cass. de Communione sub utraque Specie, p. 1032.

[i] Lib. IV. Quæst. xi. Mem. 3. p. 225.

[k] Sequeretur ecclesiam Romanam hactenus non idem sensisse de hoc sacramento, et concilia generalia in fide et bonis moribus errasse. *Gerson. contra Hæres. de Communione laicorum ab utraque Specie.* [p. 529. op. ed. 1606. vol. I.]

" Rome hath hitherto thought amiss concerning the " sacrament, and that general councils have erred " in faith and good manners." Vain fear! for as for the former branch of the consequence, it is manifest, and cannot be denied; nor will the proctors of the church of Rome, with all their sophistry, be ever able to stave it off. As for the latter part, it doth not follow, (at least from the premises,) for it is certain that the councils of Constance and Trent (which established that wicked decree) were not truly general councils. But it were better to grant that part of the consequence also, rather than to affirm that Christ himself erred, in appointing the sacrament to be received in both kinds; that the whole church of Christ, under the guidance of the apostles themselves, erred, and were chargeable with irreverence and sacrilege against the blood of our Lord; both which are unavoidable consequences of admitting the decree of the council of Constance as true and certain.

By these instances (to which many more might be added) your ladyship may be satisfied, how vain and perfectly false is the pretence of the Catholic Scripturist and the author of the Letter, when they profess to prove the points in controversy, between them and us, by Scripture; between which and their tenets (for the most part) there is the same agreement, as between light and darkness, between heaven and hell.

XV. The author of the letter, having advised your ladyship to the reading of the forementioned book, proceeds in the next place to direct you in the manner how to read it; and here he is mighty earnest, and again and again beseecheth your ladyship to consult your serious reason. Strange advice from

a Roman catholic! Will they then allow us to consult our serious reason in the matter of religion? This is all we desire from them, that they would not compel us to hoodwink our reason, and to follow their church in all things by a blind implicit faith. But stay; not too much of our serious reason neither. The reasonable liberty which he gives your ladyship with one hand, (and earnestly desires you to make use of,) he takes away with the other. For he presently adds, "and when any thing shall occur "to your thoughts as falsely imputed novelties in "our church," (he means sure when you meet with any point in that book that is (although falsely) charged with novelty, and shall seem such to your ladyship even after the use of your serious reason; well, what then?) "be pleased, madam, to turn "to the 12th point, numb. 2. p. 90, and you shall "read there an invincible argument against any "possibility of innovation in matters of faith." The plain sense of which advice is this: I advise your ladyship to consult your serious reason in the reading of the book called *the Catholic Scripturist*; but yet you must take heed how you follow its guidance: for I foresee there are many points therein, which, after all that is said in defence of them by the author, will appear to your serious reason, when you have in the best manner consulted it, perfect novelties, and no way consonant to the holy Scripture: and therefore, when your serious reason consulted tells you that the church of Rome is guilty of innovation in such points, you must not believe it, but turn to such a place in the book, where you have an invincible argument to prove that the church of Rome is infallible, and cannot possibly be

guilty of any innovation. But to what purpose is it for your ladyship to consult your serious reason in the several points defended in that book, if, when you have so done, you are still at a loss, and must not trust any thing to it, but only look to the proof of that point which concerns the infallibility of the Roman church, and from thence conclude the truth of all the rest? That invincible argument he speaks of I remember not[1]; (indeed I cannot remember that I met with any such throughout the whole book;) but as soon as I see the book again, (which I hope will be speedily,) I shall give your ladyship a particular answer to it, and doubt not to do it with most ample satisfaction. In the mean time, it may suffice to mind your ladyship of the true state of the question concerning the infallibility of the Roman church. We protestants profess and prove, by most evident arguments, that the church of Rome hath in sundry points erred, and is guilty of innovation. The patrons of that church, not able to answer those arguments of ours, tell us this cannot be, that the church of Rome is infallible, and cannot possibly be guilty of such innovation. Is not this an admirable way of reasoning and disputation? Can the Romanists produce arguments to prove that their church cannot err, so clear and evident as these alleged by us to demonstrate that she hath erred? Surely no. To make this plain: if I can be infallibly certain that my senses, rightly disposed, and all due requisites to sensation supposed, are infallible, and cannot be deceived about their proper objects, (and if I cannot be assured of this, the apostles had no infal-

[1] [The argument is, that if transubstantiation had not been believed at first, but introduced at any subsequent period, such an innovation never could have been established.]

lible assurance of that which is the foundation of the Christian faith, the resurrection of Christ, which was evidenced to them by their testimony of sense, and that testimony pronounced infallible, Acts i. 3. 1 John i. 1, 2,[m]) then I may be infallibly certain that the church of Rome is not infallible, yea, that she hath grossly erred in her doctrine of transubstantiation, teaching the bread and wine, after the words of consecration, to be turned into the very flesh and blood of Christ, which yet all my senses assure me to remain still the same in nature and substance, that is, bread and wine. If I can be infallibly certain that Christ himself is infallible, that he would not, could not appoint an institution that should be dangerous and scandalous to his church, viz., of receiving the holy eucharist in both kinds: if I can be infallibly certain that the whole church of Christ, that was under the guidance and direction of the apostles, were not grossly deceived, and engaged by the apostles themselves in a practice dangerous and scandalous; (and of this I may be as infallibly sure as I am of the truth of the Gospel itself;) then I may be infallibly certain that the church of Rome not only may err, but hath grossly erred in that determination of hers, whereby she rejects (in the council of Constance) communion in both kinds, as a dangerous and scandalous practice. And in the same manner we might proceed to shew the falsehood of divers other determinations of the church of Rome, if this paper would permit: but these are sufficient

[m] Recita Johannis testationem, "Quod vidimus," inquit, "quod "audivimus, oculis nostris vidimus, et manus nostræ contrectarunt "de Sermone Vitæ." Falsa utique testatio, si oculorum, et aurium, et manuum sensus natura mentitur. *Tertull. Lib. de Anim.* cap. 17.

to any person, that shall (according to the advice of the author of the letter) consult his serious reason. Indeed I look upon it as a wonderful both just and wise providence of God, that he hath suffered the church of Rome to fall into such gross errors, (which otherwise it is scarce imaginable how men in their wits, that had not renounced, not only the Scriptures, but their reason, yea, and their senses too, could be overtaken with,) and to determine them for articles of faith. For hereby a person of the meanest capacity (so he be sincere, and not under the prejudice of education) may evidently discern with what a strange kind of impudence that church arrogates to herself an infallibility in all her determinations. And for such of our church that have been informed of these things, and yet shall leave our communion, and follow the guidance of that church upon the account of her infallibility, I fear they are in the number of those miserable persons described by the apostle, 2 Thess. ii. 11, 12, *who are given up to strong delusions, that they may believe a lie*, &c. That which follows in the text I dread to mention; God avert it from them.

XVI. A little after, the author of the letter adviseth your ladyship "to peruse the table of the "foremention book, and to select any one or more "points which you conceive may most pinch the "papists, and to judge impartially of what you read," &c. I confess the proposal is very fair and reasonable, but yet it is no more than what the defence of his cause necessarily obliged him to submit to. For such is the unhappy condition of that church, which arrogateth to herself infallibility in all her determinations, that she must equally defend them all; and

if she should be found to be mistaken in but one instance, her whole authority is for ever blasted. I humbly beseech your ladyship therefore to accept the condition offered, and to pitch upon the instances already given, demanding that satisfaction, which, in the sequel of his letter, he promiseth shall be given you *with all fulness of clarity*.

XVII. As for that undertaking of your ladyship, (which he mentions,) "to make appear our church to "be the only true church," &c., knowing your ladyship's wisdom and prudence, I cannot believe you ever undertook any such thing. None of us do affirm that our church is the only true church; for that would be a schismatical assertion, like that of the Donatists of old, and the papists nowadays, and the highest breach of charity, in damning all the Christian world besides ourselves. What we affirm is this, that our church is a true church, in all the respects mentioned by the author of the letter, and also a pure church; and therefore such, as from which no man can separate, or desert her communion, without the guilt of schism. This the writers of our church have affirmed, and by many large volumes proved. If the author of the letter can produce any thing, worth the taking notice of, to the contrary, I will engage to your ladyship (although I have my hand full of other work) to answer it. But it may be your ladyship said, that our church of all others, at this day, is the purest and best church, most conform to the Scripture and primitive pattern. And this (although comparisons are odious) is very defensible, and a well-weighed truth, of which I have (ever since I was capable of judging) been verily persuaded. But if the comparison be made between

the Roman church and ours, he is stark blind that sees not to which the preference is due. For in the points controverted between the papists and us, (wherein alone the comparison can be framed, seeing in the rest we stand upon equal terms,) it is very visible that we keep to the rule of Scripture and the primitive pattern, from which the church of Rome hath widely deviated. And supposing (not granting) that the Roman church could, in the said questions, clear herself of the heavy imputations of idolatry and sacrilege, charged on her by her adversaries; yet she will never be able to acquit herself from innovation, and the guilt of receding from the rule of Scripture and the primitive practice. Nothing but impudence itself (that is, such a thing as the author of *the Catholic Scripturist*) dares affirm that the Scriptures teach, or the primitive church practised, image-worship, invocation of saints, the half communion, prayers in a tongue not understood by them that are required to join in them, &c., and therefore among the papists themselves some of the more ingenuous and learned have confessed, that none of these things can be found either in the Scriptures or the practice of the primitive church. Besides, our serious reason, if consulted, (according to the advice of the author of the letter,) will tell us, that the side, on which our church determines in these questions, is at least best and safest. Suppose the image-worship practised in the church of Rome were not idolatrous, yet sure it is gross and carnal; and to worship God, who is a Spirit, in spirit and truth, without images and corporeal representations, is a more spiritual and generous worship than that which is performed with and by them: and the best

plea which the papists have made for these images is, that they may be useful books for idiots and fools to pore on [m]. So if we should suppose that invocation of saints and angels were not at all derogatory to the honour of God and Christ the mediator; yet seeing God hath nowhere commanded it, nowhere annexed any promise thereunto in the Scriptures, it may be well doubted whether he will accept it. [n]And seeing it is not, cannot be certain that the saints are in a capacity of understanding our particular necessities, and hearing our prayers; neither can it be certain that all the prayers we make unto them are not frustraneous, and vainly poured out into the air, without any benefit or advantage accruing to us by them. But we are sure that it is not only lawful for us, but our indispensable duty to pray unto God, because he hath in a thousand places expressly commanded us so to do: we are sure that he knows all our wants and necessities, and can hear our prayers, as being omniscient, and every where present; we are sure that the prayers we offer up to him, agreeable to his will, in the name only of Christ the mediator, shall be heard and accepted, God having obliged himself to grant such prayers by many express promises. Now it is a known rule, *in dubiis pars tutior eligenda*, "that in doubtful cases "we are to take the safest side," that which is liable to the least doubts: much less then will a wise man deliberate in his choice, where one side hath no doubt at all, the other many. So if the church of

[m] Idiotarum libri.

[n] Certa ratione nescimus, an sancti nostra vota cognoscant quamvis pie hoc credamus. *Cajetan in secundam secundæ Quæst.* 88. *Art.* 5.

Rome could excuse herself from sacrilege, in robbing the laity of one half of the communion, (which she will never be able to do,) yet every one sees that a whole communion is better than a half one, a more perfect sacrament better than a less perfect one; such as a communion only in one kind is by the more learned papists confessed to be. And lastly, it is most evident, that it is much better to [o] pray unto God with the understanding than without it. Your ladyship's wisdom will easily direct you to carry on the comparison by the same method, in most of the other points controverted between us and the church of Rome. But I have chosen to instance in these, as being some of the most principal.

XVIII. His offer to read any book on our side that your ladyship shall recommend to him, and with all diligence and indifference to peruse it, is again very fair and ingenuous. In the abundance of excellent books of this kind, it is hard to make a choice. How many full and clear discourses have been long since written against the errors of the church of Rome, as to the points in controversy between them and us, that are yet unanswered, and are like so to remain for ever! But if a new treatise may be judged best, I humbly advise your ladyship to recommend to his reading a book of the learned Dr. Stillingfleet, lately published [p], and entitled, *A Discourse concerning the Idolatry of the Church of Rome*, &c., and to hear what he can return in answer to it.

[o] Cajetan in 1 Cor. xiv. Ex hac Pauli doctrina habetur, quod melius ad edificationem ecclesiæ est, orationes publicas, quæ audiente populo dicuntur, dici lingua communi clericis et populo, quam dici Latine.

[p] [In 1671.]

XIX. And now we come to his great boast; so great a one, that I wonder it should drop from the pen of any well-advised person, that considers what he saith or writes: "And this, madam, give me "leave to recommend to your reflections as most "undeniable, that all Christianity, over the whole "world, was first planted by the missionaries and "apostles sent by and from the heads of our church "under Jesus Christ, by the immediate assistance of "the Holy Ghost," &c. &c. O the hard forehead of a Roman catholic!

This that he recommends to your ladyship, as an undeniable truth, is, indeed, (saving his honourable relation to your ladyship's blood,) a most gross falsehood. It is so far from being true, that all Christianity was first planted in the world by the missionaries of the church of Rome, that it is manifest that Christianity was planted in the eastern parts of the world, and divers eminent churches of Christ formed and settled there before the church of Rome had a being, and whilst the Tarpeian hill was covered with a thick fog of paganism. Christianity was first planted (as every man knows, that hath read the Scriptures) in Jerusalem, where was a numerous church settled, and St. James, the brother of our Lord, by the hands of the apostles, (and as many of the ancients tell us, by the immediate order of Christ himself,) constituted bishop. This was the first and truly mother church. From this seminary of Christianity many other churches were planted in Judæa; in Samaria, Acts viii. 5, 6, 14, 25; in Syria, and in particular in that noble city thereof, Antioch, where the disciples were first called Christians, Acts xi. 26. And it is observable, that all this

while the apostles preached the Gospel to none but those of the Jewish nation or religion, Acts xi. 29. All this while the city of Rome lay in darkness; till at length, in the reign of Claudius, as Eusebius relates it [q], St. Peter came to Rome, (and certainly then he came, if ever,) and brought the light of the heavenly doctrine from the east into the western parts of the world. If the author of the letter shall object, that all these plantations in the east were made by St. Peter, who was afterwards head of the church of Rome, the answer is easy. 1. This plea is impertinent, (how true soever it may be allowed to be,) seeing it still appears that these things were not done by St. Peter, as the head of the church of Rome; for this he could not be before that church was in being. 2. St. Paul also planted some churches in the eastern parts of the world, before the Gospel was preached in the city of Rome. As soon as he was converted, which was in the reign of Tiberius, and in the nineteenth year thereof, as Eusebius tells us in his Chronicle, he went into Arabia, and preached the Gospel there; and this, as the learned have observed, was the first plantation among the Gentiles made by St. Paul, Gal. i. 17. Afterwards (as he himself tells us) he preached the Gospel *from Jerusalem, round about unto Illyricum*, Rom. xv. 19, and that so, as that he strove to preach it *where Christ was not yet named*, nor the foundations of Christianity already laid by others, ver. 20, 21. And indeed St. Paul planted more churches in the eastern and western parts of the world than St. Peter, or any other of the apostles besides, yea, it seems, more than all

[q] Histor. Eccles. II. 14.

the rest of the apostles together; for he *laboured more abundantly than they all,* 1 Corinth. xv. 10. Hence St. Clement[r], bishop of Rome in the apostolic age, speaking of the labours of St. Peter and St. Paul, briefly touches on the former, but dwells in the praises of the latter, (not so much as mentioning St. Peter's coming to Rome.) "St. Paul," saith he, "having been seven times cast into bonds, scourged, "and stoned, obtained the reward of his patience, "and having preached the Gospel in the east and "the west, became famous for his faith, instructing "the world in righteousness; and, coming into the "bounds of the west, suffered martyrdom under the "emperors, and so departed this life, and went into "the holy place, being made an example of the "highest patience." Much use may be made of this testimony by the wise and learned: but my present purpose, in alleging these words of St. Clement, (a contemporary and fellow-labourer of St. Paul, to whom he had a nearer relation than to St. Peter,) is to verify St. Paul's words, that he was more abundant in his endeavours of propagating the Gospel than any other of the apostles, St. Peter himself not excepted. Let me now seriously and in good earnest ask the author of the letter, Doth he think that St. Paul planted all these churches as the missionary of St. Peter, (the vainly supposed head of the church of Rome,) or by authority derived from him? If he be so confident or ignorant as to affirm this, St. Paul himself shall refute him, who solemnly declares, that he received not his commission from any man on earth, but immediately from Christ himself, Gal. i. 11.

[r] Epist. ad Corinth. p. 14. edit. Oxon. 1669. [c. 5. p. 150.]

that as soon as he was converted by the heavenly vision, he betook himself to his work of preaching the Gospel, as not conceiving it necessary to go up to Jerusalem to take a commission from St. Peter, or any other of the apostles residing there, whose faces he saw not till three years after, ver. 15—18, that St. James, St. Peter, and St. John, the three pillars of the church at Jerusalem, upon *conference added nothing unto him*, viz., either of instruction or commission, either of knowledge or authority, Gal. ii. 6, that when these three apostles saw the *Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto him, as the Gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter; they gave him the right hand of fellowship*, verse 7, 8, 9. What can be more plain than these words? For, according to the suppositions of the Romanists, it should have been said, that the headship of the whole church was committed to St. Peter, part of the government whereof, viz., that which concerned the circumcision of the Jewish church, he kept to himself, and committed the other, that respected the Gentile Christians, to St. Paul: but the words are quite otherwise; St. Peter had his share of inspection into the churches committed to him, and St. Paul his, and neither of them from the other, but both from Christ. And here, by the way, your ladyship may please to observe how this very thing, that the care of the circumcision was committed by Christ unto St. Peter, as his proper charge, doth, if well considered, utterly overthrow the pretences of the church of Rome to the universal pastorship, derived from St. Peter. For, 1. The title of the *apostle of the circumcision*, given to St. Peter in Scripture, would have been a great diminution to his

dignity, if (as the Romanists fancy) he had been head and governor (in an appropriated sense, not common to him with the other apostles) both of the circumcision and uncircumcision, that is, of the universal church. 2. St. Peter's proper relation to the circumcision, or churches of the believing Jews, doth not at all correspond with his taking the charge of the church of Rome (a Gentile church) above all others, and residing there, and making that the chief episcopal see. He might indeed occasionally come to Rome; and I am willing to believe (upon the testimony of many of the ancients) that he did so, and preached there, especially to those of the circumcision: although some very learned men have observed, that the whole tradition of St. Peter's voyage to Rome was first derived from Papias, an author indeed very ancient, but also very credulous, and of a mean judgment; (as Eusebius characterizes him;) but that he fixed his chair at Rome, among the Gentile Christians, and much more that he advanced that church to the primary and universal pastorship over all the rest, (supposing it in his power so to do,) is certainly a very idle and groundless imagination, and no way consistent with that account of St. Peter which the Scripture gives us. For the churches of the circumcision were his chiefest and proper charge; and all his other labours, in comparison of what he bestowed on them, were, if I might so speak, a kind of *πάρεργον*, or *work by the by*[s].

[s] Quod dicit Paulus Petro creditum fuisse apostolatum circumcisionis, id intelligendum est, *ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ*. Nam et Petrus Cornelium convertit incircumcisum, et Paulus Judæos nonnullos. Sed præcipuum studium Petro erat circa Judæos, Paulo circa gentes alias. *Grot. ad Gal.* ii. 7.

And therefore, if any church could have challenged a primacy of authority over the rest, upon the account of St. Peter, it would have been one of the churches of the circumcision, as Jerusalem or Antioch, to whom he had, above all other churches, a peculiar relation, as being apostle of the circumcision.

But this I mention only by the way, although it be very much to the purpose. My business was to prove, (and I have done it abundantly,) that St. Paul, by whom most of the first plantations of Christianity in the world were made, was no missionary of the church of Rome, or of St. Peter, considered as head thereof, or in any other relation; and consequently, that what the author of the letter recommends to your ladyship's reflection, as undeniable, is a palpable untruth, viz., "That all Christianity over the whole "world was first planted by missionaries and apostles, "sent by and from the heads of the Roman church."

XX. Some perhaps will wonder what necessity should drive the author of the letter to maintain so extravagant an assertion; but I acknowledge he had very great and cogent reasons to force him on this desperate attempt. For it is an article of the Romanist's faith, that the church of Rome is now, and ever was from the beginning, the head of the catholic church, from which all other churches derive their very being of churches: that the church of Rome is "causally" (as cardinal Perron expresseth it[t]) "the "only catholic church, as the centre and beginning of "ecclesiastical communion, infusing unity, which is "the form of universality, into the catholic church." Now this cannot possibly be defended, unless you

[t] Reply to King James, IV. 9.

suppose the church of Rome to be the mother church, and all other churches to derive their Christianity, and the succession of their pastors, from her. But this foundation I have already utterly destroyed, and consequently the towering Babel superstructure raised thereon falls to the ground. If no church be a catholic church, but by its dependence on or derivation from the church of Rome, then the first and most noble plantations of Christianity in the East were no true and catholic churches; because they were made such churches as they were, before the church of Rome had a being: and if it be answered, that the church of Rome had then a being in her head, viz., St. Peter, by whom, or by whose authority, those plantations in the East were made, I have already replied, 1. That St. Peter could not be considered as actually the head of the church of Rome before that church existed: 2. That St. Peter was never at all the head of the church of Rome, any more than, no nor so much as he was the head of some other churches, as of Jerusalem, &c., to which he had a most especial relation, as the *apostle of the circumcision:* 3. That St. Paul planted most churches both in the east and west, who yet was no dependant in the least upon St. Peter, either as the head of the church of Rome, or in any other relation: and yet the churches planted by St. Paul were as truly catholic and apostolic churches as any planted by St. Peter. All these things are plain and evident, and whosoever doth not wilfully shut his eyes against the clear light of the holy Scriptures and right reason, cannot but acknowledge them; and being acknowledged, they do for ever destroy the senseless and arrogant pretences of the Romanists to a pri-

macy of authority and jurisdiction belonging to their church over all other churches in the world.

XXI. Nay, from the grounds laid, it is manifest that the church upon the hill (as high as she is) cannot lay just claim so much as to a prerogative of honour (which yet we willingly grant to some churches before others) above all the rest, as originally due unto her. For doubtless this prerogative of honour was originally due to the mother or original church: such the church of Rome was not, but indeed one of the younger daughters of Sion. The Christian church, planted at Jerusalem, was really and truly the seminary of all Christianity over the whole world. And upon this account the prerogative of honour was originally due to her; and not upon this account alone: for, 1st, this church was the more constant seat and residence of the apostles, wherein they had their councils, from whence they gave forth their laws and decrees to the other churches, and to which the other churches upon emergent difficulties had recourse, Acts xv. 1, 2, 6, 7, &c. 2. The episcopal see of this church was constituted with such circumstances, as agree to no other church of the Christian world besides. St. James, the brother of our Lord Jesus, (a person by that relation the most honourable,) was made the first bishop there, and in the whole Christian world, and that by an assembly of the holy apostles, under whose eyes, and in the place of their residence, he was to execute his office; and that again (if we will give credit to the united testimonies of divers very ancient Christian writers[u]) by the express order and command of Christ him-

[u] Vid. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. VII. 19 et Vales. Annot.

self. Upon which accounts Eusebius tells us, that a strange kind of veneration was given to the very throne and episcopal chair of St. James, kept at Jerusalem, even to his days, by certain superstitious Christians, who, if they had dreamt of an infallible chair left by St. Peter at Rome, would doubtless have paid their homage there. 3. It is certain, that a kind of preeminence or precedence is every where in Scripture given to the Jews (by reason of the covenant of God to their fathers) before the Gentiles in the kingdom of the Messias, and in the participation of those benefits that accrue to mankind by Christ Jesus and his Gospel, of which although the Gentiles were no less partakers than the Jews, yet in this order, that they were dispensed to the *Jew first, and then to the Gentile*, Rom. ii. 10. and iii. 1, 2, and St. Paul tells us, that it was necessary that the Gospel should be first preached unto them, Acts xiii. 46. The church of the Jews was then the elder sister, and this right of primogeniture she lost not by becoming Christian, which she must have done if we suppose her to have been subjected to the church of Rome, or any other church among the Gentiles. Now Jerusalem was the chief church of the circumcision, and therefore, as such, the preeminence was due to her. And accordingly we find, that although this first and famous church of Jerusalem, not very long after the apostles, lost much of her real dignity, not retaining so much as the jurisdiction of the churches of Palestine, (whether this happened through the several devastations of that city, whereby it was rendered poor and contemptible; or through the inveterate hatred of the Gentile Christians against the Jewish believers, whereby the

former sought by all means and arts to depress the latter; or through the political distribution and subordination of churches, which was moulded according to the civil disposition of the Roman empire, wherein Jerusalem happened to have none of the best shares, I determine not, although I incline to the last resolution,) yet still all other churches for a long time acknowledged (in words at least) a special respect and honour due to that see; and some of the ancients have termed it the "mother of all other "churches," even the "throne of Christ upon earth," and the governors thereof "the princes of all other "Christians in the world;" and which is more, in differences about rights and customs, have appealed from other churches, even the Roman church itself, to the primitive orders and constitutions settled in that first apostolical church, all which I could make evident by many express testimonies, if I durst be so far troublesome to your ladyship.

XXII. But to conclude this discourse, we may, in confidence of the premises, very justly and aptly bespeak the arrogant Romanists, that expect all other churches should own a dependance upon theirs, and claim to themselves a privilege of giving laws to the Christian world, in the words of St. Paul to the Corinthians, (a learned, wealthy, and populous city, and thereby much disposed to the humour of the church of Rome, as it is at this day,) 1 Cor. xiv. 36. *What? came the word of God out from you? or came it unto you only?* [x]The Corinthian doctors (it seems) had introduced divers customs contrary to the institutions of other churches, such as

[x] Vide Grotium in locum.

men's covering their heads, and women being uncovered, in religious exercises and assemblies, women preaching, &c. 1 Cor. xi. 3—6. and xiv. 34. In these evil customs they persisted, not regarding the pattern of other churches that were before them: insomuch as the mild apostle is forced to charge them with the guilt of a contentious, perverse, and proud humour, in slighting the customs of the catholic church, 1 Cor. xi. 16. To these he thus speaks, *What? came the word out from you?* are you the mother church? did all the rest of the Christian world receive the Gospel and its institutions from you? No. The Christian law came out of Sion, and the Gospel was first preached, and the church of Christ planted, in Jerusalem: look thither, and you shall find no such customs used as you obstinately persist in. Or *did the word of God come only to you?* No. As you were not the first, so you are not the only persons that received the Gospel and became a Christian church; there are many other churches besides, enjoying equal privileges with yourselves. Why are you then so arrogant? Your ladyship's wisdom can easily apply this, and discern how much more deeply the present church of Rome is concerned in this smart expostulation of the apostle. And now I leave it to your ladyship to judge what advantage the author of the letter hath gotten to his cause by his inconsiderate boasts.

XXIII. As for the modern plantations of Christianity[y], especially those made since the difference

[y] Concerning the admirable method used by the ministers of the church of Rome in the conversion of the heathens in China and other neighbour nations, your ladyship may please to read Dr. Stillingfleet's late treatise, p. 439, 440, 441.

between us and the church of Rome, it is not worth our while to speak of them. The church of Rome, as well as other parts of Christendom, may for shame be silent in this matter. Nay, sure I am, the church of Rome, in the posture it hath been for these many years, hath so little reason to boast of her advancing and promoting the interest of the Christian religion in the world, that it is apparent the gross corruptions of catholic doctrine, defended by her, have stained and darkened (nothing more) the glory of Christianity, and sullied its beauteous face, and hindered its growth and progress. Let indifferent persons, that have travelled abroad in the world, judge here, and they will tell us, that nothing doth more alienate the hearts of the Jews and Mahometans too from Christianity, than the image-worship and bread-worship (so directly contrary to both their laws) which they see with their eyes practised by them that call themselves the only true Christians. And how many doctrines are there defended by the church of Rome, which lie as stumblingblocks before them? What a mountain in their way is the article of transubstantiation, which a man cannot receive without utterly renouncing at once his reason and all his senses too! Every man hath heard of one great person [z] (and we have reason to believe that there have been many more of his mind) that was turned off from Christianity by this just prejudice; "If the Christians "worship the God which they eat, let my soul be "with the philosophers." I have here a very copious and profitable theme before me, if I had time and

[z] Averroes. Si Christiani adorant Deum quem comedunt, sit anima mea cum philosophis.

room enough to enlarge upon it: but enough of this for the present.

XXIV. We proceed, in the next place, to the constant visibility and succession of pastors in our church, which he challengeth your ladyship, as obliged by promise, to make good. And here I make him this fair proposal: Let him, or any one of his party, produce any one solid argument to demonstrate such a succession of pastors in the church of Rome, and I will undertake, by the very same argument, to prove a like succession in our church. Indeed, your ladyship will easily discern, that the author of the letter is concerned, no less than we are, to acknowledge such a succession of lawful pastors in our church, till the time of the reformation; and if we cannot derive our succession since, it is a hard case. But our records, faithfully kept and preserved, do evidence to all the world an uninterrupted succession of bishops in our church, canonically ordained, derived from such persons in whom a lawful power of ordination was seated by the confession of the papists themselves. For the story of the Nagg's Head Ordination is so putid a fable, so often and so clearly refuted by the writers of our church, that the more learned and ingenuous papists are now ashamed to make use of it.

XXV. His demand, that we should shew a succession of pastors in our church, in all ages, holding and professing the Thirty-nine Articles, is infinitely ridiculous, absurd, and unreasonable: for we ourselves acknowledge, that the pastors of our church were, before the reformation, involved, as well as others, in the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome, against which our Thirty-nine Articles

are mainly directed; or else there had been no need of reformation. And let him, if he can, shew a constant succession of pastors in the church of Rome, always professing the decrees of the council of Trent, in the points of image-worship, invocation of saints, communion in one kind, purgatory, indulgences, &c., and I will promise with heart and hand to subscribe to that council. But it is as clear as the light at noonday, that the decrees of that council, in those Articles, are most contrary to the doctrine of the catholic church (and so of the pastors of the church of Rome) in the first and best ages. As for ourselves, that which we maintain is this, That our church, and the pastors thereof, did always acknowledge the same rule of faith, the same fundamental articles of the Christian religion, both before and since the reformation; but with this difference, that we then professed the rule of faith together with the additional corruptions of the church of Rome; but now (God be thanked) without them. So that the change, as to matter of doctrine which hath been in our church, and her pastors, is for the better; like that of a man from being leprous becoming sound and healthy, and yet always the same man. This a learned prelate[a] of our church solemnly proclaimed to all the world in these words: "Be it known to "all the world, that our church is only reformed or "repaired, not made new; there is not one stone of "a new foundation laid by us; yea, the old walls "stand still, only the overcasting of those ancient "stones with the untempered mortar of new in-"ventions displeaseth us: plainly, set aside the cor-

[a] Bishop Hall's Old Religion, chap. III.

" ruptions, and the church is the same. And what " are these corruptions, but unsound adjections to " the ancient structure of religion? These we can- " not but oppose, and therefore are unjustly and im- " periously asserted. Hence it is that ours is by the " opposite styled an ABLATIVE or NEGATIVE RELIGION; " for so much as we join with all true Christians " in all affirmative positions of ancient faith, only " standing upon the denial of some late and undue " additaments to the Christian belief." Let the author of the letter prove, that our church, since the reformation, hath departed from any one article of the common faith, always received in the church of God, and more fully explained in the creeds of the first general councils, and he will perform something to the purpose; but till then all his discourses of our change in point of doctrine will be impertinent. And that he will never be able to prove this, will appear afterwards.

XXVI. Indeed, the question is here the same with that threadbare one which the papists use to reiterate, when they have nothing else to say for themselves, Where was your church before LUTHER? To which the answer is easy: Our church was then where it is now, even here in ENGLAND. She hath not changed one thing of what she held before, any way pertaining either to the being or well-being of a church; only she hath made an alteration in some things, which seemed to her (and so they will to all indifferent judges) greatly prejudicial to both. She still retains the same common rule of faith. She still teacheth the necessity of a holy life, and presseth good works as much as before; only she is grown more humble, and dares not ascribe

any merit to them. She still observes all the fundamental ordinances and institutions of Christianity. She baptizeth, she feeds with the holy Eucharist, she confirmeth [b]. She retaineth the same apostolical government of bishops, priests, and deacons. And because she finds that a set form of Liturgy is used by all Christian churches in the world, without any known beginning, she hath hers too, and that a grave, solemn, excellently composed one, conformed, as near as she could devise, to the pattern of the most ancient offices. A Liturgy, for its innocence and purity, so beyond all just exceptions, that the papists themselves, upon its first establishment, could not but embrace it. And therefore for several years they came to our churches, joined in our devotions, and communicated without scruple, till at last (as an excellent person of our church rightly expresseth it) "a temporal interest of the church of Rome rent "the schism wider, and made it gape like the jaws "of the grave:" nay, it is transmitted to us (as the same excellent author observes) by the testimony of persons greater than all exception, that Paulus Quartus, pope of Rome, in his private intercourses and letters to queen Elizabeth, did offer to confirm and establish the Common Prayer Book, if she would acknowledge the primacy and authority, and the reformation derivative from him. [c]And this method was pursued by his successor Pius Quartus, who assured her she should have any thing from him, not only things pertaining to her soul, but what might

[b] Aqua signat, S. Spiritu vestit, Eucharistia pascit. *Ita de ecclesia Romana Tertull. de Præscript. adversus Hæret.* cap. 36.

[c] Camden's Annals, A. D. 1560. Baker's Chron. Eliz. anno 1560. p. 343.

conduce to the establishment and confirmation of her royal dignity; amongst which, that the Liturgy, newly established by her authority, should not be rescinded by the pope's power, was not the least considerable. I beseech your ladyship to make a little pause here. Our Liturgy contains the whole religion of the Church of England. This the popes and bishops of Rome themselves offer to confirm and establish. Let me now ask this question, Is our Liturgy in itself a good and safe way of worshipping God, or not? If not, these popes were to blame in offering to confirm it; for no subsequent decree of a pope could make that safe and good, which was not so antecedently. If it were in itself good and safe, then it is so still, though the pope of Rome never confirmed it; and so the whole religion and reformation of the Church of England is safe and good, by the plain confession of the pope himself, the infallible judge of the Roman church. But let us proceed. As to the catholic customs, our church (so far is she from the love of innovation) professeth all reverence and respect unto them. Upon this score, she still observes all the great and ancient festivals of the church, with great solemnity, viz., the feasts of the nativity, circumcision, passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Saviour, the descent of the Holy Ghost, or the feast of pentecost, &c.; she still honours the memory of the holy apostles, saints, and martyrs, and hath days wherein to express this, and to bless God for them, and propound their virtues to the imitation of her sons. The ancient fasts of the church she hath not rejected; and therefore, because she finds a Lent, or solemn fast, before the great festival of Easter, presently after the apostles,

universally observed (though with a considerable variety[d], as to the number of days, and the hours of abstinence on those days) in the church of God, she recommends the same observation to her sons, in the full number of forty days, to be kept as days of stricter temperance, and prayer too, by all those whose health and other circumstances will permit them to undertake it. She still observes the fasts of the four seasons, or ember-weeks[e]. She still recommends the two weekly stations of the primitive church to the observation of her sons, Wednesday and Friday[f], distinguishing them from other days of the week by the more solemn and penitential office of the Litany. And in the table of the fasts to be observed, all Fridays in the year, except Christmas-day, are expressly mentioned. I might proceed to other instances; but these are abundantly sufficient to shew, that the Church of England in her reformation affected no unnecessary change or innovation. Indeed, she made no change or innovation, but of those things that were themselves manifest changes and innovations, yea, somewhat worse; such as those above mentioned, image-worship, the worship and invocation of saints and angels, the dry communion, the senseless and unreasonable service of God in an unknown tongue, enjoined the people, and not understood by them. Wherein, as I have already shewn, every man's reason and conscience

[d] Vide Iren. Epist. ad Victorem, apud Eusebium Hist. Eccl. V. 24. et Valesii Annot. in locum.

[e] Concerning their antiquity in England, see Spelman Conc. Brit. p. 256, 518, 546. And concerning the continuance of them in our church, see Can. 31. an. Dom. 1603.

[f] Quartæ et sextæ Feriæ, vide Grot. Annot. ad Luc. xviii. 12.

will tell him, that the change is made for the better. She hath also shaken off (and it was high time so to do, seeing that St. Augustin so long ago complained of it) that intolerable yoke of ceremonies, many of which were perfectly insignificant and ridiculous, some directly sinful, and their number in the whole so great, as to require that intention of mind, which ought to be employed about more weighty and important matters, yet retaining still (to shew that she was not over nice and scrupulous) some few ceremonies, that had on them the stamp of venerable antiquity, or otherwise recommended themselves by their decency and fitness. In a word, the authors of our reformation dealt with our church as they did with our temples or material churches. They did not pull them down and raise new structures in their places, no, nor so much as new consecrate the old ones; but only removed the objects and occasions of idolatrous worship, (at least out of the more open and conspicuous places,) and took away some little superstitious trinkets, in other things leaving them as they found them, and freely and without scruple making use of them.

XXVII. What next he saith concerning our notorious prevarication from the Articles of our church I do not perfectly understand. He very well knows, that all our clergy doth still subscribe them: and if any man hath dared openly to oppose the declared sense of the Church of England in any one of those Articles, he is liable to ecclesiastical censure, which would be more duly passed and executed, did not the divisions and fanatic disturbances, first raised and still fomented by the blessed emissaries of the apostolic see, hinder and blunt the edge of our dis-

cipline. But possibly he intends that latitude of sense, which our church, as an indulgent mother, allows her sons in some abstruser points, (such as predestination, &c.,) not particularly and precisely defined in her Articles, but in general words capable of an indifferent construction. If this be his meaning, this is so far from being a fault, that it is the singular praise and commendation of our church. As for our being concluded by the Articles of our church, if he means our being obliged to give our internal assent to every thing delivered in them upon peril of damnation, it is confessed that few, yea none of us, that are well advised, will acknowledge ourselves so concluded by them, nor did our church ever intend we should. For she professeth not to deliver all her Articles (all I say, for some of them are coincident with the fundamental points of Christianity) as essentials of faith, without the belief whereof no man can be saved; but only propounds them as a body of safe and pious principles, for the preservation of peace to be subscribed, and not openly contradicted by her sons. And therefore she requires subscription to them only from the clergy, and not from the laity, who yet are obliged to acknowledge and profess all the fundamental articles of the Christian faith, no less than the most learned doctors. This hath been often told the papists by many learned writers of our church. I shall content myself (at present) only with two illustrious testimonies of two famous prelates. The late terror of the Romanists, Dr. Usher, the most learned and reverend primate of Ireland, thus expresseth the sense of the Church of England, as to the subscription required to the Thirty-nine Articles; "We do not suffer any

" man to reject the Thirty-nine Articles of the " Church of England at his pleasure, yet neither do " we look upon them as essentials of saving faith, " or legacies of Christ and his apostles; but in a " mean, as pious opinions, fitted for the preservation " of peace and unity; neither do we oblige any man " to believe them, but only not to contradict them[g]." So the excellent bishop Hall, in his *Catholic Propositions*, (truly so called,) denieth, in general, that any church can lawfully propose any articles to her sons, besides those contained in the common rule of faith, to be believed under pain of damnation. His third proposition is this: "The sum of the Christ- " ian faith are those principles of Christian reli- " gion, and fundamental grounds and points of faith, " which are undoubtedly contained and laid down " in the canonical Scriptures, whether in express " terms or by necessary consequence, and in the an- " cient creeds universally received and allowed by " the whole church of God[h]."

And then in the seventh and eighth propositions he speaks fully to our purpose. Prop. 7. "There are " and may be many theological points, which are " wont to be believed and maintained, and so may " lawfully be of this or that particular church, or " the doctors thereof, or their followers, as godly " doctrines and profitable truths, besides those other " essential and main matters of faith, without any " prejudice at all of the common peace of the " church." Prop. 8. "Howsoever it may be lawful " for learned men and particular churches to believe " and maintain those probable or (as they may think)

[g] Schism guarded, p. 150. See also p. 396.

[h] Second tome, p. 183.

" certain points of theological verities, yet it is not " lawful for them to impose and obtrude the same " doctrines upon any church or person, to be be- " lieved and held, as upon the necessity of salvation; " or to anathematize or eject out of the church any " person or company of men that thinks otherwise."

As for the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, undoubtedly delivered in the Scriptures, and allowed (except the Romanists, who have so affected singularity, as to frame to themselves a new Christianity) by the whole church of God, they are by the consent of all Christians acknowledged to be contained in that called the Creed, or rule of faith.

XXVIII. This rule of faith, and that also as it is more fully explained by the first general councils, our church heartily embraceth, and hath made a part of her Liturgy, and so hath obliged all her sons to make solemn profession thereof. To declare this more distinctly to your ladyship, our church receiveth that which is called the Apostles' Creed, and enjoins the public profession thereof to all her sons in her daily service. And if this creed be not thought express enough fully to declare the sense of the catholic church in points of necessary belief, and to obviate the perverse interpretations of heretics, she receiveth also that admirable summary of the Christian faith, which is called the Nicene Creed, (but is indeed the entire ancient creed of the oriental churches, together with the necessary additional explications thereof, made by Fathers both of the council of Nice against Arius, and the council of Constantinople against Macedonius,) the public profession whereof she also enjoins all her sons (without any exception)

to make in the morning service of every Sunday and holyday. This creed she professeth (consentaneously to her own principles) to receive upon this ground primarily, because she finds that the articles thereof may be proved by most evident testimonies of Scripture: although she deny not, that she is confirmed in her belief of this creed, because she finds all the articles thereof, in all ages, received by the catholic church. Some indeed have questioned, yea denied this, concerning the additional explications of the Fathers of Nice and Constantinople. As though all the Fathers of the first three hundred years had understood the respective articles to which those explications belong, in a sense quite different from, yea contrary to the sense which those councils had offered to them. But this suggestion is so manifest a falsehood, that I wonder much to find it with so great a confidence delivered in the writings of divers learned men. The sum of what the Nicene Fathers have added by way of explication to the rule of faith, is this: That the Son of God is no creature, but very God, subsisting in the very substance, essence, and nature of his Father. Now although many of those ancient writers have let fall such things, (especially in the heat of contest, as seem not very consistent with the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, yet the thing itself is professedly and frequently acknowledged by all, not one excepted, as I could make appear by many full and express testimonies out of each of them. Indeed, not one of them (no not Origen himself, charged by so many with heresy in this article) ever dreamt the Son of God (in that nature wherein he is more properly so called) to be a creature. Nay,

Tertullian[1] (who flourished about an hundred and thirty years before the Nicene council, and hath as many unwary expressions in this matter as any one of those writers whatsoever, yet) delivers this as the received doctrine of the catholic church in his time; that the three Persons of the ever to be adored Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are of one substance, and one state, and one power, because one God. Where we have not only the full sense, but the very words of the Nicene Fathers in this article, which is especially quarrelled at by some no less presumptuous than peevish men. And this he delivers as a doctrine understood to be contained in the creed or rule of faith then received in the church, and which before he had just laid down. Nay, it is apparent from the whole tenor of Tertullian's discourse in that book, that the heresy of Praxeas, asserting the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be but one Person, was built upon these two hypotheses; 1st, That the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, were acknowledged by the catholics to be of one and the same substance and nature; 2dly, That there could not be three distinct persons subsisting in the same divine essence. And indeed the main argument made use of by all the several heretics, that from the beginning oppugned the Deity of the Son (as asserted by the catholics) was this, that the doctrine was repugnant to the unity and simplicity of the divine essence; for which argument there had

[1] Οἰκονομίας sacramentum quæ Unitatem in Trinitatem disponit, tres dirigens, Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum; tres autem non statu, sed gradu; nec substantia, sed forma; nec potestate, sed specie: unius autem substantiæ, et unius status, et unius potestatis, quia unus Deus, &c. *Tertull. advers. Prax.* cap. 2.

not been the least colour, if the catholics had only asserted the Son to be a made God, or a creature (howsoever dignified, yet) of an essence and nature infinitely distant and alien from the nature and essence of the Father. To these let me add one argument, which seems to me irrefragable. [k]There was a famous question much disputed in the early days of the church, even in the first succession of the apostles, (as it evidently appears from the writings of Justin Martyr, and his scholar Tatian, and others,) concerning the manner of the Son's generation, viz., whether it were by a kind of abscission from the essence of the Father, or by a simple communication of essence, such as is betwixt fire producing other fire, without any diminution of itself and the fire produced. Now, how impertinent, how frivolous, how even ridiculous had this controversy been, if it had not been taken for granted on all hands, that the Son was begotten of the very essence of the Father, and not made of things that were not? The sum of the explicatory addition made by the Fathers of Constantinople to the article concerning the Holy Ghost is this, "That the Holy Ghost is no created "spirit, but a divine Person, or very God, to whom, "in conjunction with the Father and the Son, divine "worship and honour ought to be given." Now we have already shewn, that the catholic church, even in Tertullian's time, (so long before the council of Constantinople,) acknowledged the Holy Ghost, no less than the Son, to be of one substance, state, and

[k] Vide Justin. Martyr. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 358. [c. 128. p. 221.] Col. p. 284. [c. 61. p. 157.] et Tatian. Orat. contra Græcos ad calcem operum Justini, p. 145. [c. 5. p. 247.] et librum de Recta Confessione inter opera Justini, p. 380. [c. 9. p. 426.]

power with the Father. And the same Tertullian[1] afterwards, in the same book, (delivering again the common belief of the catholics in his time,) tells us expressly, "That the Father is God, the Son is God, "and the Holy Ghost is God, and every one of them "is God." And how many testimonies, out of the most ancient Fathers, might I here heap together? But it is needless; for as long as the sacrament of Baptism, as it was appointed by Christ to be administered, *in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*, shall continue in the church, (that is, whilst the church shall continue,) as long as the doxology, or glorification of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost together, (which was received in the catholic church in the very age that trod upon the heels of the apostles, as appears from the testimony of St. Justin Martyr[m] and others,) shall retain a place in the Liturgy and public offices of the church, so long shall we not want a clear proof, and a practical evidence and demonstration that the Deity of the Holy Ghost, and so the consubstantiality of each Person in the most blessed Trinity, is a catholic verity. This I thought fit to observe, to obviate the vain plea of the Romanists, who, from the example of the Fathers of Nice and Constantinople, justify their bold and presumptuous additions of new articles to the rule of faith, or at least of new explications of the old articles to such a sense wherein they were never before understood by the catholic church: for supposing the authority of their church equal to that

[1] Duos Deos et duos Dominos nunquam ex ore nostro proferimus, non quasi non et Pater Deus, et Filius Deus, et Spiritus Sanctus Deus, et Deus unusquisque, &c. *Tertul. adv. Prax.* c. 13.

[m] Apolog. II. p. 97, 98. [Apol. I. c. 6. p. 47.]

of the two first general councils, (which yet is to be granted,) yet these councils will not at all excuse them; for neither did they add any new article to the rule of faith, nor a new sense to any old article.

XXIX. To return. This creed (which our church thus heartily owns, and obligeth all her sons to profess) is a sufficient summary of the articles of faith, and consequently our church, by owning it, sufficiently declares herself to be catholic in all points of faith, and distinguishes herself from all heretical societies and combinations. If not, then 1st, The first general councils did not sufficiently declare the rule of faith; for we receive all that was declared by them to be *de fide*, or matter of faith. 2. Then (particularly) the council of Ephesus [n] (the third general council) did err in the very definition of the rule of faith, when the Fathers thereof thus expressly determined: "That it should not be lawful for any one to produce, write, or compose, any "other creed besides that which was agreed on and "defined by the holy Fathers, who were met together at Nice [o], by the Holy Spirit; and those who "should dare to compose, produce, or offer any "other creed to such as desired to return to the "knowledge of the truth, from paganism, Judaism, "or any heresy whatsoever, should, if bishops, be "deposed from their episcopal throne; if inferior "clergymen, deprived of holy orders; if laymen, ex-

[n] Concil. Ephes. Can. 7. apud Justell. p. 59, 60.

[o] They mean, notwithstanding, the creed established in the council of Constantinople, as being the same, with a little addition, with that of Nice. For it appears from the acts of the Ephesian council, that it was the Constantinopolitan creed that was openly read in the council, and that upon the reading thereof this decree was passed.

" communicated, or cast out of the church." The whole canon is remarkable and very much to our purpose; but we are especially to observe those words, " or from any heresy whatsoever." For hereby the Ephesian Fathers declare, That if any person was charged with any kind of heresy whatsoever, he should sufficiently purge himself by the acknowledgment of the aforesaid creed; and that upon his subscription thereunto, or profession thereof, he should be absolved, and received into the communion of the church as a complete and perfect catholic; and that whoever should propose to such a person any thing else to be believed, as a necessary condition of ecclesiastical communion, should himself be liable to the censure of the church. Now, to apply this: Our church doth so heartily embrace the aforesaid creed, that she hath inserted it into her Liturgy, not only to be now and then read, but on every Lord's day, and in every more solemn assembly to be openly professed by all her sons; and therefore she is in all points of faith and necessary belief completely and perfectly catholic and orthodox, by the judgment of the third general council; and the papists (that in the mean time call us heretics, and refuse to hold communion with us as such) are themselves liable to a severe punishment.

XXX. And here (by the way) it is worth while to observe the egregious prevarication of the Trent Fathers (and the Fathers indeed of that which is called the Roman catholic religion) in this matter of the creed, or rule of faith. In the third session [p],

[p] Quare symbolum fidei, quo sancta ecclesia Romana utitur, tanquam principium, in quo omnes qui fidem Christo profitentur *necessario* conveniunt, et fundamentum primum et unicum, contra

before they come to define any one particular article, they declare it necessary, after the pattern (forsooth) of the ancient Fathers and councils, (whom they have imitated not half so well as an ape doth a man,) to premise the symbol, or rule of faith, used in the holy church of Rome, (which is indeed the creed of Constantinople,) and beginning with these words, "I believe in one God," and this creed they judge necessary to be in so many express words professed by their whole assembly, as "the principle wherein "all Christians, that profess the faith of Christ, do "necessarily agree; and the only firm foundation, "against which the gates of hell shall never prevail." Where, when they profess this creed to be the principle, wherein all Christians do "necessarily agree," they plainly intimate, (if we poor protestants may presume to understand their meaning by their words,) that there is no absolute necessity that all Christians should agree in other things. But their following words are express, wherein they acknowledge this creed to be "the only foundation," and consequently, that nothing is to be laid as a foundation beside; nay, that this creed is "the only "firm foundation, against which the gates of hell "shall never prevail." For who would not here conclude, that (by the confession of the Trent Fathers themselves) whosoever fixeth his feet upon this foundation, and departeth not from any one article contained in this creed, stands sure, as to all points of faith, and is in no danger at all of

quod portæ inferni nunquam prævalebunt, totidem verbis quibus in omnibus ecclesiis legitur exprimendum esse censuit. Quod ejusmodi est, Credo in unum Deum, &c., et in Missali est. *Caranz. Sum. Concil.* p. 705. edit. Duac. 1648.

damnation, or hellfire, upon the account of heresy? And yet, in the following sessions, how prodigally doth this pack of bold and presumptuous men bestow their anathemas, thundering out hell and damnation to millions of pious souls, who stand firmly upon this only firm foundation, and cannot be proved to have denied any one point reducible or deducible from any article of the rule of faith. Very many are the instances that I might give your ladyship of this; but I shall content myself to instance only in such points held and defined by the council of Trent, which I have already proved to be so far from articles of faith, that they are evidently false, erroneous, and dangerous. In the thirteenth session, canon 2, they anathematize and damn all those who shall dare so far to trust all their senses wherewith God hath blessed them, as to believe that the bread and wine in the sacrament do, after the words of consecration, still remain in substance the same, (though they confess them transcendently changed in use,) that is, bread and wine. And consequently, in the sixth canon of the same session, they anathematize and damn all those who shall teach, that the consecrated bread and wine ought not to be worshipped with divine worship, (such as is due to the only begotten Son of God himself,) or to be carried about in solemn procession, to be so worshipped and adored by the people. A hard case! All our senses infallibly assure us of the truth of the former proposition, and upon the supposal thereof the papists do themselves confess the truth of the latter, and yet, nevertheless, we must be damned for thus teaching. So in the twenty-first session they are anathematized and damned, "that shall say, that all

" the faithful are bound by the command of God to " receive the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist " in both kinds." And yet we have an express command of Christ concerning both, who took the bread, and said, *Take and eat*, and the cup, and said, *Drink ye all of it*, Matt. xxvi. 26, 27. If the patrons of this wicked decree shall say, (as they have the impudence to say,) that the latter branch of the precept, *Drink ye all of it*, concerns not the laity at all, but only the priests, such as the apostles were, the horrid consequence of this answer is visible to any man, that is not wilfully or fatally blinded, viz., that then the former branch of the commandment, *Take and eat*, concerns not the laity neither, but only the priests, seeing both parts of the precept are delivered in the same breath, to the same persons, and in the same imperative and commanding style. And then we may next expect (and by the same reason justify) another anathema or curse against all those presumptuous persons that shall dare to teach, that lay Christians are by any command of God bound to receive the holy Eucharist at all, or in any part thereof. And then at last, well fare the dregs of fanaticism, the Quakers and others, who have wholly laid this sacrament aside, as unnecessary. Lastly, in the twenty-fifth or last session, they command the bishops (as a work, forsooth, worthy of their great and sacred office) "to teach invocation " of saints, the honour of relicks, the use of images, " and that" (lest we should be ignorant of their meaning) " such as was established by the decrees" (especially) " of the second Nicene synod; and to " proclaim those to be of impious opinion, that teach " otherwise. And presently after, they denounce an

" anathema against any man, that should teach or" (so much as) " think contrarily to those decrees."

And yet as to the use of images, that is, the religious veneration and worship of them, such as was established by the convention of Nice[p], it is notorious (and confessed also by a very learned writer[q] of their own) that the decrees of that convention, as far as concern the worship of images, were shortly after, in a numerous synod of about three hundred bishops, (called therefore the plenary council[r],) out of all Italy, Germany, France, and Britain, convened upon another occasion by Charles the Great at Frankfort, after a diligent reading of them in the hearing of the whole assembly, (and therefore not upon mistake or misrepresentation, as Baronius and others without any colour of truth pretend,) with an universal consent condemned and utterly rejected, as " re-" pugnant, not only to the Scriptures, and the an-" cient tradition of the Fathers, but also to the " custom of the Roman church." So that if we must be damned for opposing the decrees of the convention of Nice concerning image-worship, we see what company we have, even the bishops of all Italy, Germany, France, and our Britain, (so many ages before the reformation,) involved together with ourselves in the same guilt and danger. And if we must suffer an anathema, for thinking otherwise in the point of invocation of saints than the church of Rome teacheth, this is our abundant comfort, that we are of the same opinion in that article with the whole catholic church of Christ for at least the first

[p] [Which was held in the year 787.]

[q] Cassander Consult. de Imaginibus et Simulachris.

[r] Concilium plenarium, v. Baron. Annal. ad an. Christi 794.

three hundred years, (the best and purest ages of the church,) as I have already clearly demonstrated. After the same manner the confession of faith, according to the council of Trent, begins likewise (for a show) with the Constantinopolitan creed; but then presently to the wholesome principles contained therein, are added all the unsound and corrupt doctrines of the Roman church concerning the prodigious riddle of transubstantiation, the half-communion, purgatory, the religious worship and invocation of saints, the worship of images, relicks, indulgences, the primacy of the church and bishop of Rome over the universal church, yea, all the decrees of the holy council of Trent, as undoubtedly to be received. Concerning this medley of religion, this mixture of *gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay,* and *stubble* together[r], the miserable Trent papist is bound to profess, "That this is the catholic faith, without "which no man can be saved[s]," and that upon his oath too; that is, he is bound to pawn his own salvation, that all the Christian churches of the world are damned besides the Roman, that doth but dissent from some one article of this prodigious creed: and the main article concerning the primacy of the bishops of Rome over the universal church is by all of them universally disowned. Yea, there are thousands in the communion of the church of Rome, that will not acknowledge all the decrees of the council of Trent for divine oracles, such as this confession of faith declares them to be. With so intolerable a pride, arrogance, and presumption (at which every

[r] 1 Cor. iii. 12.

[s] Hanc veram et catholicam fidem, extra quam salvus nemo esse potest, quam in præsenti sponte profitear.

man that fears God, and considers the thing, cannot choose but tremble, and be filled with horror and amazement) do these men domineer and lord it over the faith and conscience of Christendom! But, leaving the wretches to the righteous judgments of God, let us return thither from whence we have a little digressed.

XXXI. By what hath been said, we have abundantly cleared ourselves of prevarications from the Articles of our religion. For we have demonstrated, 1. As to the Thirty-nine Articles of our church, to be subscribed by our clergy, it is so far from being true, (what the author of the letter suggests,) that few of us will be concluded by them, that, on the contrary, we all do and must suffer ourselves to be concluded by them, as far as our church, in the imposition of them, intended we should. 2. That as for those Articles of religion which our church proposeth to all her sons, (without exception,) to be professed by them as points undoubtedly delivered in Scripture, and contained in the ancient creeds, and acknowledged by the catholic church in all ages, she hath taken care (as far as a church can possibly) to prevent any the least prevarication from them, by enjoining every one of us to make an open and solemn profession of them (in our service and public Liturgy) before the face of the congregation, and in the presence of Almighty God.

XXXII. Let us now briefly consider how this charge of prevarication, objected by the author of the letter against us, will return very heavily upon the men of his own church. It is very manifest, that divers, living in the communion of the church of Rome, and professing themselves Roman catholics,

have most egregiously prevaricated from the articles of the Roman faith. The articles of the Roman faith, did I say? I confess it is very hard, if not impossible, to define what they are, or to draw up such a body of articles, as shall be acknowledged for a standard of the Roman faith by all that profess themselves to be of that religion. This is so true, that I do solemnly profess, if I had any mind to be a Roman catholic, (which, God be thanked, I have not,) I could not certainly tell how to be, or when I might be assured that I am such, unless I could persuade myself to the smutty faith of the collier, to believe as the church doth, without knowing what it is that the church believeth, or what is that church which so believes, as I profess myself to do. But let us follow them as far as we can in their labyrinth. There are certain points received as articles of faith at Rome, (and a man would be there accounted no Roman catholic that should deny them,) which yet are openly denied by some that profess themselves Roman catholics. I instance only in two, The personal infallibility of the pope, and his superiority to a general council. As for the first, our countryman, Mr. White, (a learned Roman catholic, and one who hath many followers, and leaders too,) is so far from acknowledging the personal infallibility of the pope, that he affirms the holding of it to be an arch-heresy, and the propagating of that doctrine to be a grievous sin[t]. (And sure I am the doctors of the Sorbonne were formerly of the same mind with Mr. White, and I believe are so still.) And I

[t] Tabulæ Suffrag. c. 19, 20, 21. Vide et Holdeni Divinæ Fidei Analysim, p. 179. [l. I. c. 9. p. 235.]

myself have met with some papists, who have plainly derided the doctrine of the personal infallibility of the pope, and not without great indignation disowned it to be an article of their faith. As for the latter point, concerning the superiority of the pope to a general council, all those who disown the former must reject this also. For the pope cannot be imagined superior to a general council upon any other account than this, that he is guided (at least when he sits in his enchanted chair) by an infallible spirit, to judge of the determinations of general councils, whether they are true or false, and accordingly to confirm or reject them. Yet this point must be held by all that own the council of Florence [u], or the confession of faith, according to the council of Trent; for in both of them it is determined, that the pope, or bishop of Rome, is the pastor, governor, and head of the universal church, which cannot be true, if the pope be subject to the universal church, represented by her bishops in a general council. Hence Gregory of Valence [x], a learned papist, speaking of those that held a general council to be superior to the pope, saith, "that they did indeed plainly "thwart (though unawares) the most certain faith "concerning St. Peter and the bishop of Rome's "primacy in the church." Indeed they that do, seem to forget their very name of papists, which

[u] Vide Caranz. Sum. Concil. Florent. et Synod. ann. 1439, p. 655, 676. [p. 864.]

[x] Atque hinc profecto illorum auctorum sententia manifeste revincitur, qui concilium universale pontifice superius faciunt. Pugnant enim illi revera (licet non advertentes) cum certissima fide de D. Petri ac Romani pontificis in ecclesia primatu. *Gregor. de Valent. Com. Theolog. tom.* III. *disp.* 1. *qu.* 1. *punct.* 7. [p. 272.]

was given them from their dependance on the pope, as the vicar of Christ, the head of the church, and the infallible judge of all controversies. This then must be held as an undoubted article of faith, and the very foundation of the Roman catholic religion, That the pope is superior to a general council. Now from this great article of faith, not only Mr. White, and the persons but now mentioned, but also divers other Roman catholics of a higher rank, have egregiously prevaricated. We have a numerous assembly of many hundreds of bishops, called together by the emperor Sigismund at Constance[y], determining pointblank against this great article: for in the fourth session they define, "That the synod, "lawfully gathered together in the Holy Ghost, and "making a general council, and representing the "catholic church militant, hath a power immediately "from Christ, to which every man, of whatsoever "state or dignity, though it be the pope himself, is "bound to yield obedience," &c. And presently after they decree, "That if any man, though he were the "pope himself, should refuse to obey the decrees of "this synod, or any other general council lawfully "gathered together, he should do penance and suffer "condign punishment." And about sixteen years after, the council of Basil[z] (in the second session) decreed the same thing in the very same words. Nay, in the third session, they determined this to be "a catholic verity, and that whosoever should op- "pose it should be accounted an heretic." It is to no purpose here to answer, (as Bellarmine and others

[y] Caranz. Summ. Concil. Constant. sess. 4, 5. p. 647, 648. [p. 826.]

[z] Caranz. Summ. Concil. Bas. p. 665, 672. [p. 848-9.]

have done,) that these councils were no lawful councils, as not confirmed by the pope. For supposing this to be true, (which certainly is most false, and it may be easily evinced that each of those councils was confirmed by a pope,) yet still it is confessed, both that these bishops (which were well nigh all the bishops of the western churches) were of the Roman catholic religion and communion, and that they did so determine as we have said. Let me now ask the author of the letter this question, Was the superiority of the pope to a general council an article of faith in the time of the council of Constance and Basil, or not? If it was, then here we have the Roman catholic bishops generally guilty of prevarication from an article of faith, and that the main article of the Roman catholic religion. And then what is become of that uninterrupted succession of pastors (which the author of the letter so much boasts of) in the Roman church, always holding the same articles of religion? If it was not then held for an article of faith, as it is manifest enough it was not, from the testimony of so many bishops, then are they guilty of a grievous prevarication, who have since made that an article of faith which was not so before, but rather was held to be an error, yea a downright heresy. So that, on the one side or the other, here must of necessity be acknowledged a very lamentable prevarication from a great fundamental article of the Roman faith.

XXXIII. But let us come more closely to that standard of the Roman faith, which I am assured the author of the letter acknowledgeth for such, viz., The decrees of the council of Trent. It is well known, that a great number of those that call them-

selves Roman catholics, are so far from being concluded by the decrees of that council, that they utterly reject the authority thereof, accounting it as an unlawful and irregular convention. And yet the author of the letter dares not (I am sure) pronounce all these to be heretical; and as for those that profess to submit themselves to the authority of that council, how egregiously have many of them prevaricated from the canons and decrees thereof!

If the gentleman hath been so little conversant in the authors of his own church as to deny this, I will undertake to prove it by the clearest evidences, even by the confession of papists themselves. But that which I chiefly insist on (to shew the prevarication of the Trent papists) is this, that no man can make profession of his faith, according to the council of Trent, without being guilty, in that very profession, of prevarication, in the highest degree, even to perjury. For your ladyship may please to understand, that the confession of faith, according to the council of Trent, is made with a solemn oath: now in this confession, I. They swear "to receive "as undoubted all things delivered, defined, and "declared by the canons and general councils, and "especially by the holy council of Trent[a]." Now, any understanding man, that impartially reads the canons and the decrees of those councils, acknowledged for general by the papists, will find it impossible to reconcile them one to another. II. They swear, with the same breath wherewith they profess

[a] Omnia a sacris canonibus et œcumenicis conciliis, ac præcipue a sacrosancta synodo Tridentina tradita, definita, ac declarata, indubitanter recipio ac profiteor.

their reception of all the canons and general councils, that "they acknowledge the holy catholic and "apostolic church of Rome to be the mother and "mistress of all other churches, and the pope to be "successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, "and to be also the vicar of Jesus Christ, to whom "our obedience is due [b]."

Now it is very manifest, that the first and most famous general council of Nice, in the sixth canon, decrees, That every patriarch, within his province, hath full and perfect jurisdiction, without any dependance upon the church or bishop of Rome, or any other church or bishop; and that the jurisdiction of the church and bishop of Rome is no less limited than that of other churches and patriarchs. Let any man compare the words [c] of the canon with the usual answers given by the papist, and (if he does not wink very hard) he must needs see what wretched shifts a bad cause will put men to. Other instances I might give your ladyship of the apparent contradictions of that confession; but these are sufficient to shew, that every man who swears to the confession of Trent, must necessarily be a perjured person, either knowingly and wittingly, or ignorantly and unadvisedly, and the best of these two sorts of per-

[b] Sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Romanam ecclesiam omnium ecclesiarum matrem et magistram agnosco: Romanoque pontifici B. S. Petri apostolorum principis successori, ac Jesu Christi vicario, veram obedientiam spondeo ac juro.

[c] *Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ Λιβύῃ, καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Justell. Codex Can. Ecclesiæ Univers.* p. 30, 31. [p. 6.]

jury is bad enough. And now I leave it to your ladyship to judge who are the prevaricators.

XXXIV. Thus I have largely examined every thing in the letter, that seemed to me any way worthy of answer. What follows in the close, is nothing else but a bundle of specious words, which I know your ladyship to be too wise to be deceived by. Only I cannot but take notice how enthusiastical and perfectly fanatical his discourse is concerning faith and conversion. He tells your ladyship very gravely, that true faith is the immediate gift of God. But a graver apostle assures us, that *faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God;* that is, that a man must first have the object of his faith clearly and convincingly propounded to him, and that as declared by the *word of God* or *divine revelation*, before he can truly believe, or be obliged so to do. He encourageth your ladyship to expect a conversion no less miraculous than that of St. Paul, and promiseth the contribution of his prayers for the obtaining of so great a favour. It seems he supposeth your ladyship to be at present in a sad estate, like that of St. Paul when he was yet a Saul, in a state of infidelity persecuting the church of God. But your adhesion to the Church of England (wherein, as I have largely proved, the rule of faith and all the fundamental articles of the Christian religion are received, taught, professed, and acknowledged) secures you from infidelity and heresy; and your known and exemplary piety gives me ground to believe, that you are in the number of those righteous persons (of whom our Saviour speaks, Luke xv. 7.) *that need no repentance*, that is, no universal change from a state of sin and death to a

state of grace and salvation. But if your ladyship's present estate were as bad as your kind relation represents it, yet he gives you no just ground to expect so miraculous a conversion as that of St. Paul's; and I doubt all his prayers to saints and angels would prove ineffectual for that purpose. But would your ladyship understand the plain English of this fanatic discourse? For all his pretences to the contrary, he is unwilling that your ladyship should consult your serious reason: for then he despairs (and not without reason) that ever you will come off to the church of Rome; but he would have you to wait for some violent, sudden, and unaccountable impulse, that should drive your ladyship (you know not why or wherefore) into the bosom of their church, where he promises "a delightful and sweet "repose." How sweet it will be I know not, but sure I am it will not be very safe. Let me therefore humbly beseech your ladyship to stick to his first advice, "to consult your serious reason," and (let me add) those learned divines of our church, that are near you, who are abundantly able to rescue your ladyship from the little trifling arrests of the Roman emissaries; and especially to consult the undoubted oracles of God, the holy Scriptures, which the author of the letter himself tells you, *should be our guidance unto true faith and perfection;* and to all to add your daily prayers to Almighty God, that he would lead you into and confirm you in his holy truth, and deliver you from the snares of error, which are with so close and cunning a contrivance every where laid among us; and then I doubt not but you will continue steadfast in the communion of that church, wherein at present, by the gracious

providence of God, you live, and bless God that you are there.

If my weak endeavours may be farther serviceable to your ladyship in this great affair, be pleased freely to command,

Madam,

Your ladyship's most truly devoted servant

in all Christian offices,

Suddington in Gloucestershire, Oct. 18, 1671. GEORGE BULL.

THE CORRUPTIONS

OF

THE CHURCH OF ROME,

IN RELATION TO

ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT,

THE

RULE OF FAITH, AND FORM OF DIVINE WORSHIP;

IN ANSWER TO

THE BISHOP OF MEAUX'S QUERIES.

BY

THE REVEREND DR. BULL,

LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

[All the editions of this work prefix the letter of the bishop of Meaux to Nelson, which is printed in the Life, p. 329, &c., and therefore omitted here.]

DR. BULL'S ANSWER.

I. THE approbation of my writings by so learned and illustrious a prelate as monsieur de Meaux, especially when joined with the congratulations of the learned clergy of France in general, is so high an honour done me, that if I did not set a great value on it, I were altogether unworthy of it.

But as to the wonder of monsieur de Meaux, I cannot but very much wonder at it, especially at the reasons on which it is grounded. He wonders "how "I, that speak so advantageously of the church, &c., "can continue a moment without acknowledging "her." Her! What her doth the bishop mean? Doubtless, the present church of Rome, in the communion whereof he himself lives, and to which his design seems to be to invite me. But where do I speak so advantageously of the present church of Rome? Nowhere, I am sure. My thoughts concerning her, I have plainly (perhaps too plainly and bluntly in the opinion of monsieur de Meaux) delivered in the book which he so commends, *Jud. Eccl. cathol.* c. 5. §. 3, where having spoken of that singular purity of the faith, which was in the church of Rome in the first ages, and taken notice of and extolled by some of the primitive Fathers, I thus conclude: "Oh, that so great a happiness, such purity

" of faith, had always continued in that church! " But, alas! we may now cry out in the holy pro- " phet's words, *How is the faithful city become an* " *harlot*[a]!" Isaiah i. 21.

But monsieur de Meaux seems to think the Roman and the catholic church to be convertible terms, which is strange in so learned a man, especially at this time of the day. Cannot the catholic church be mentioned, but presently the Roman church must be understood? The book, which the bishop refers to, bears this title, *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ trium primorum Seculorum*, &c. Of the catholic church of the three first centuries I do indeed speak with great deference. To her judgment (next to the holy Scriptures) I appeal against the oppugners of our Lord's divinity at this day, whether Arians or Socinians. The rule of faith, the symbols or creeds, the profession whereof was, in those ages, the condition of communion with the catholic church, (mentioned by Irenæus, Tertullian, and others,) I heartily and firmly believe. This primitive catholic church, as to her government and discipline, her doctrines of faith, and her worship of God, I think ought to be the standard by which we are to judge of the orthodoxy and purity of all other succeeding churches, according to that excellent rule of Tertullian, *de Præscript. adv. Hæres.* c. 20, 21: " Every descent " must necessarily deduce itself from its first ori- " ginal. If these things are true, it is plain that " every doctrine which these apostolical, these ori- " ginal and mother churches held as analogous to

[a] Utinam hæc felicitas, hæc fidei puritas ecclesiæ isti perpetua fuisset! Sed proh dolor! Nunc prophetæ divini verbis exclamare possumus, *Quomodo effecta est meretrix urbs fidelis!*

" the rule of faith, is to be owned as true, and as " containing, without doubt, what the churches re- " ceived from the apostles, the apostles from Christ, " Christ from God; but that all other doctrine is to " be looked upon as false, and no ways savouring of " those truths which have been delivered by the " churches, and the apostles, and Christ, and God [b]." And to the same purpose he discourseth, cap. 31. *ejusdem libri.*

According to this rule, the Church of England will be found the best and purest church at this day in the Christian world. Upon which account, I bless God that I was born, baptized, and bred up in her communion; wherein I firmly resolve by his grace to persist, *usque ad extremum vitæ spiritum.* How far the present church of Rome hath departed from this primitive pattern, will appear hereafter.

Monsieur de Meaux adds, as a farther reason of his wonder, " that I speak of salvation as only to be " found in unity with her." Her! doth the bishop here again mean the present church of Rome? If he doth, I must plainly tell him, that I am so far from ever thinking that salvation is only to be found in unity with her, that, on the contrary, I verily believe they are in great danger of their salvation, who live in her communion; that is, who own her erroneous

[b] Omne genus ad originem suam censeatur necesse est. Si hæc ita sunt, constat proinde omnem doctrinam, quæ cum illis ecclesiis apostolicis matricibus et originalibus fidei conspiret, veritati deputandam, sine dubio tenentem quod ecclesiæ ab apostolis, apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo accepit: omnem vero doctrinam de mendacio præjudicandam, quæ sapiat contra veritatem ecclesiarum et apostolorum et Christi et Dei.

doctrines, and join in her corrupt worship, of which I shall give a large account before I have done. I do indeed, in the book which the bishop hath an eye unto, shew, that there was a canon or rule of faith received in the primitive church, which whoever in any point thereof denied or opposed, was judged an heretic, and if he persisted in his heresy, cast out of the communion of the catholic church, and so out of the ordinary way of salvation. But what is this to the present church of Rome and her communion?

The bishop's last reason is, "that I own the in-
"fallible assistance of the Holy Ghost in the council
"of Nice, which infers the same assistance for all
"others assembled in the same church." To which I answer, I mention this indeed as the opinion of Socrates, but at the same time I give another account of the credit that is to be given to the determination of the Nicene council in the article of our Saviour's divinity, in the *Prœmium* of my *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*, §. 3. where my words are these:
"But the same Socrates, chap. ix. of the same book,
"reproves Sabinus for not considering with himself,
"that they who came to this council, how illiterate
"soever they were, yet being enlightened by God
"and the grace of the Holy Ghost, could in no wise
"depart from the truth. For he seems to have
"thought the enlightening grace of the Holy Ghost
"always to accompany a general council of bishops,
"and to preserve them from error, especially in any
"of the necessary articles of faith. Which supposi-
"tion, if any one shall refuse to admit of, Socrates's
"argumentation may be thus directed and urged
"against him: The Nicene Fathers, (let any imagine
"them as unskilful and illiterate as he will,) yet, in

" the main, were doubtless pious men: but it is in-
" credible that so many holy and approved men,
" assembled from all parts of the Christian world,
" (who, how defective soever in any other sort of
" knowledge, could by no means be ignorant of the
" first and fundamental doctrine of the holy Trinity,
" a doctrine wherein the very catechumens were not
" uninstructed, or of what themselves had received
" from their predecessors concerning it,) should
" wickedly conspire amongst themselves, to new
" model the faith received in the church concerning
" this principal article of Christianity[c]." And, indeed, all these things considered and laid together, it was morally impossible that the Nicene Fathers should have erred, in the determination of the article before them. And that they did not actually

[c] Idem vero Socrates ejusdem libri cap. IX. p. 31. reprehendit Sabinum quod non etiam secum reputaverit, *ὡς εἰ καὶ ἰδιῶται ἦσαν οἱ τῆς συνόδου, κατελάμποντο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, οὐδαμῶς ἀστοχῆσαι τῆς ἀληθείας ἐδύναντο.* i. e. *eos, qui ad synodum illam convenerant, quamvis rudes essent atque imperiti, a Deo tamen et Spiritus S. gratia illustratos, nullatenus a veritate aberrare potuisse.* Quippe sensisse videtur Socrates, concilio episcoporum vere universali semper adesse Spiritus Sancti gratiam illuminatricem, quæ ipsos ab errore, saltem in necessariis fidei articulis, liberos custodiat. Quam hypothesin si quis nolit admittere, poterit ad ipsum argumentatio Socratis ita institui ac formari: Patres Nicæni, ut imperiti et literarum rudes fuisse fingantur, pii tamen certe maximam partem fuere: incredibile autem est, tot viros sanctos et probatos, ex omnibus orbis Christiani regionibus convenientes, (qui qualicunque alias imperitia laboraverint, certe ignorare non poterant elementariam de SS. Trinitate doctrinam, etiam catechumenis tradi solitam, aut quid ipsi ea de re a majoribus accepissent,) nefarie conspirare potuisse ad hoc, ut receptam in ecclesia fidem, de primario Christianismi articulo, innovarent.

err, I have sufficiently proved, in the bishop's own judgment, in the following treatise.

But suppose I were fully of Socrates's opinion, concerning the infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost attending every truly general council in matters of faith, I should be never the nearer to the communion of the church of Rome, as it is now subjected to the decrees of the Trent council. For as I afterwards add in the same preface, §. 8: "The assembly at "Trent is to be called by any other name, rather "than that of a general council [d]."

I proceed to the bishop's questions. He asks me "What I mean by the catholic church?" I answer: What I mean by the catholic church in the book which he all along refers to, I have already shewn, and the very title of the book sufficiently declares. If he asks me, What I mean by the catholic church, speaking of it as now it is? I answer: By the catholic church, I mean the church universal, being a collection of all the churches throughout the world, who retain *the faith* (ἅπαξ) *once delivered to the saints*, Jude 3; that is, who hold and profess, in the substance of it, that faith and religion which was delivered by the apostles of Christ to the first original churches, according to Tertullian's rule before mentioned. Which faith and religion is contained in the holy Scriptures, especially of the New Testament, and the main fundamentals of it comprised in the canon or rule of faith, universally received throughout the primitive churches, and the profession thereof acknowledged to be a sufficient *tessera*,

[d] Tridentina conventio quidvis potius quam generale concilium dicenda est.

or badge, of a catholic Christian. All the churches at this day which hold and profess this faith and religion, however distant in place, or distinguished by different rites and ceremonies, yea, or divided in some extra-fundamental points of doctrine, yet agreeing in the essentials of the Christian religion, make up together one Christian catholic church under the Lord Christ, the supreme Head thereof. The catholic church, under this notion, is not "a confused "heap of societies, separated one from another." But it seems, no other union of the church will satisfy the bishop, but a union of all the churches of Christ throughout the world under one visible head, having a jurisdiction over them all, and that head the bishop of Rome for the time being. But such a union as this was never dreamed of amongst Christians for at least the first six hundred years, as shall be shewn in its due place.

The catholic church, I believe, shall never totally fail, that is, Christianity shall never utterly perish from the face of the earth, but there shall be some to maintain and uphold it to the end of the world; although some of the ancient doctors of the church have given us a very tragical description of the state of the universal church of Christ, which shall be under the reign of the great Antichrist. But I know of no promise of indefectibility from the faith made to any particular church, no, not to the church of Rome itself. And if we may judge by the holy Scriptures, and by the doctrine and practice of the primitive catholic church, the present church of Rome hath already lamentably failed, and fallen into many dangerous and gross errors, as will by

and by appear. Now that church which hath already so far failed, why may she not utterly fail? If she be found but in one error, the infallible direction of her judgment, upon which her indefectibility from the faith must depend, is gone and destroyed. I add, that divers eminent[e] doctors, even of the Roman communion, have discovered out of the Apocalypse, that Rome itself shall at length become the seat of Antichrist. If so, where will the church of Rome then be?

But I wonder why monsieur de Meaux should ask me, Whether by the catholic church I mean the church of Rome or the church of England? He knows full well, I mean neither the one nor the other. For to say either of the church of Rome, or of the church of England, or of the Greek church, or of any other particular church, of what denomination soever, that it is the catholic or universal church, would be as absurd as to affirm that a part is the whole. And to be sure I never meant the church of Rome to be the catholic church exclusively to all other churches. I am so far from any such meaning, that my constant judgment of the church of Rome hath been, that if she may be allowed still to remain a part or member of the catholic church, (which hath been questioned by some learned men, upon grounds and reasons not very easy to be answered,) yet she is certainly a very unsound and corrupted one, and sadly degenerated from her primitive purity. This I must insist upon, and have obliged myself to prove; and I prove it thus:

II. The church of Rome hath quite altered the

[e] Ribera et Viega in Apoc. xvii.

primitive ecclesiastical government, changed the primitive canon or rule of faith, and miserably corrupted the primitive Liturgy or form of divine worship.

1st. She hath quite altered the primitive ecclesiastical government, by erecting a monarchy in the church, and setting up her bishop as the universal pastor and governor of the whole catholic church, and making all other bishops to be but his vicars and substitutes, as to their jurisdiction.

For that the bishop of Rome had no such universal jurisdiction in the primitive times, is most evident from the sixth canon of the first Nicene council, occasioned, as it appears, by the schism of Meletius, an ambitious bishop in Egypt, who took upon him to ordain bishops there without the consent of the metropolitan bishop of Alexandria. The words of the canon are these: "Let the ancient customs pre-"vail[f] that are in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, "that the bishop of Alexandria have the power over "them all, forasmuch as the bishop of Rome also "hath the like custom. In like manner, in Antioch, "and all other provinces, let the privileges be pre-"served to the churches." From this canon it is plain, that the three metropolitan bishops, or primates, (they were not as yet, I think, called patriarchs,) of Alexandria, Rome, and Antioch, had their distinct jurisdictions, each independent on the other; and that all other chief bishops or primates of provinces had the same privileges which are here confirmed to them. It is true, this canon doth not

[f] Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω. [The words of this canon may be seen at p. 231 of this volume.] v. Can. Apost. 34. et Conc. Ephesin. can. 8.

particularly describe or determine what the bounds are of the Roman bishop's power, as neither doth it the limits of the bishop of Antioch's jurisdiction, but only those of the bishop of Alexandria's province. The reason hereof is manifest; the case of the bishop of Alexandria only was at this time laid before the synod, whose jurisdiction in Egypt had been lately invaded by the schismatical ordinations of Meletius, as I before observed. But that the Roman bishop's power, as well as that of the other metropolitans, had its bounds, is most manifest from the example that is drawn from thence, for the limits of other churches. For what an absurd thing is it, that the church of Rome should be made the pattern for assigning the limits to other metropolitan churches, if that church also had not her known limits at the same time when this canon was made! Intolerable is the exposition which Bellarmin and other Romanists give of these words of the canon; "forasmuch as the bishop of Rome also hath the "like custom[g];" i. e. (they say,) "It was the custom "of the bishop of Rome to permit, or leave to the "bishop of Alexandria, the regimen of Egypt, Libya, "and Pentapolis." Certainly, *τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν* implies a like custom in the church of Alexandria and in the church of Rome; and the sense of the canon is most evident, that the bishop of Alexandria should, according to the ancient custom of the church, (not by the permission of the Roman bishop,) enjoy the full power in his province, as by the like ancient custom the bishop of Rome had the jurisdiction of his. But they that would see this canon fully explained, and cleared from all the

[g] Ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν.

trifling cavils and exceptions of the Romanists, may consult the large and copious annotations of the learned Dr. Beveridge, bishop of St. Asaph, upon it, where they will receive ample satisfaction.

Thus was the government of the catholic church, in the primitive times, distributed among the several chief bishops or primates of the provinces, neither of them being accountable to the other, but all of them to an œcumenical council, which was then held to be the only supreme visible judge of controversies arising in the church, and to have the power of finally deciding them. Hence the case of the bishop of Alexandria, before mentioned, was not brought before the bishop of Rome, or any other metropolitan, but referred to the Fathers of the Nicene council, to be finally determined by them.

The universal pastorship or government of the catholic church was never claimed by any bishop till towards the end of the sixth century, and then it was thought to be challenged by John, patriarch of Constantinople, assuming to himself the title of œcumenical or universal bishop; whom Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, vehemently opposed, pronouncing him the forerunner of Antichrist, who durst usurp so arrogant a title. And it is worthy observing how passionately the same Gregory expresseth his detestation of the pride and arrogance of the patriarch of Constantinople, in his letter to Mauritius, the emperor: "I am forced to cry out, "O the times! O the manners! All things in the "parts of Europe are delivered up to the power of "barbarous people. Cities are destroyed, castles "demolished, provinces depopulated, &c., and yet "the bishops, who ought to have lain prostrate on

" the ground, covered with ashes and weeping, even " they covet to themselves names of vanity, and " glory in new and profane titles [h]." And yet this name of vanity, this new and profane title of universal bishop, was afterwards accepted by Boniface III. bishop of Rome, when it was offered him by that bloody miscreant Phocas the emperor; and the same title hath been owned by the succeeding bishops of the Roman church, and that as due to them by divine right. Indeed, it may be questioned whether John of Constantinople, by assuming the title of œcumenical bishop, meant that he had an universal jurisdiction over all other bishops and churches: but this is certain, that Gregory opposed the title under this notion; this appearing abundantly from his epistle to John the patriarch [i]; and it is as certain, that under the same notion the bishops of Rome afterwards assumed that title, and do claim it to this day. Nay, the universal pastorship and jurisdiction of the Roman bishop over all bishops and churches is now no longer a mere court opinion, maintained only by the pope's parasites and flatterers, but is become a part of the faith of the church of Rome; it being one of the articles of the Trent creed, to which all ecclesiastics are sworn themselves, and which, by the same oath, they are obliged to teach the laity under their care and charge,

[h] Exclamare compellor ac dicere, O tempora! O mores! Ecce cuncta in Europæ partibus barbarorum juri sunt tradita, destructæ urbes, eversa castra, depopulatæ provinciæ, &c. et tamen sacerdotes, qui pavimento et cinere flentes jacere debuerunt, vanitatis sibi nomina expetunt, ac novis et profanis vocabulis gloriantur. *Greg.* l. IV. epist. 32. [al. V. 20.]

[i] Lib. IV. epist. 38. [al. V. 18.]

as hereafter will appear. So that now there is no room for that distinction, wherewith some have soothed and pleased themselves, between the church and court of Rome; for the court is entered into the church of Rome, or rather the court and church of Rome are all one.

III. 2. The church of Rome hath changed the primitive canon, or rule of faith, by adding new articles to it, as necessary to be believed in order to salvation. Look to the confession of faith, according to the council of Trent: it begins indeed with the primitive rule of faith, as explained by the council of Nice and Constantinople; and happy had it been for the church of Christ, if it had ended there. But there are added afterwards a many new articles; and with reference to them, as well as to the articles of the old creed, it concludes thus: "This " true catholic faith, without which none can be " saved, which I now willingly profess and un- " feignedly hold; the same I promise, vow, and " swear, by the help of God, most constantly to keep " and confess, entire and inviolate, even to my last " breath; and to endeavour moreover, to the utmost " of my power, that it may be kept, taught, and " professed by all my subjects, or by those that are " any way under my care. So help me God, and " these his holy gospels [k]."

[k] Hanc veram catholicam fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, quam in præsenti sponte profiteor, et veraciter teneo, eandem integram et inviolatam, usque ad extremum vitæ spiritum, constantissime (Deo adjuvante) retinere et confiteri, atque a meis subditis, vel illis quorum cura ad me spectabit, teneri, doceri, et prædicari, quantum in me erit, curaturum ego idem N. spondeo, voveo ac juro: sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei evangelia.

Now, if you examine those articles that follow after the Constantinopolitan creed, you will find they are not merely explicatory of any article or articles of the old canon of faith, (such as that of the ὁμοούσιος, or *same substance* in the Nicene confession, which was virtually contained in the ancient canon, and by good consequence deducible from it, and was apparently also the sense of the catholic church before the Nicene council,) but they are plain additions to the rule of faith. Now if these articles were true, yet they ought not presently to be made a part of our creed; for every truth is not fundamental, nor every error damnable. We deny not but that general or provincial councils may make constitutions concerning extra-fundamental verities, and oblige all such as are under their jurisdiction to receive them, at least passively, so as not openly and contumaciously to oppose them. But to make any of these a part of the creed, and to oblige all Christians under pain of damnation to receive and believe them, this is really to add to the creed, and to change the ancient canon or rule of faith. But, alas! these superadded articles of the Trent creed are so far from being certain truths, that they are most of them manifest untruths, yea, gross and dangerous errors. To make this appear, I shall not refuse the pains of examining some of the chief of them.

The first article I shall take notice of is this: "I "profess, that in the mass is offered to God, a true, "proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and "the dead; and that in the most holy sacrament of "the Eucharist there is truly, and really, and sub-"stantially the body and blood, together with the "soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ; and

"that there is wrought a conversion of the whole "substance of the bread into the body, and of the "whole substance of the wine into the blood, which "conversion the catholic church calls transubstan-"tiation[l]." Where this proposition, ("That in the "mass there is offered to God a true, proper, and "propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead,") having that other of the "substantial presence of the "body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist" immediately annexed to it, the meaning of it must necessarily be this, that in the Eucharist the very body and blood of Christ are again offered up to God as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of men. Which is an impious proposition, derogatory to the one full satisfaction of Christ made by his death on the cross, and contrary to express Scripture, Heb. vii. 27, and ix. 12, 25, 26, 28. and x. 12, 14. It is true the Eucharist is frequently called by the ancient Fathers προσφορα, θυσία, an *oblation*, a *sacrifice*. But it is to be remembered, that they say also it is θυσία λογικὴ καὶ ἀναίμακτος[m], a *reasonable sacrifice*, a *sacrifice without blood:* which, how can it be said to be, if therein the very blood of Christ were offered up to God?

They held the Eucharist to be a commemorative sacrifice, and so do we. This is the constant lan-

[l] Profiteor in missa offerri Deo verum, proprium, et propitiatorium sacrificium, pro vivis et defunctis, atque in sanctissimo Eucharistiæ sacramento esse vere et realiter et substantialiter corpus et sanguinem, una cum anima et divinitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi, fierique conversionem totius substantiæ panis in corpus, et totius substantiæ vini in sanguinem, quam conversionem catholica ecclesia transubstantiationem appellat.

[m] [V. Constitut. Apost. VI. 23.]

guage of the ancient Liturgies, "We offer by way "of commemoration[n];" according to our Saviour's words when he ordained this holy rite, *Do this in commemoration of me*[o]. In the Eucharist then, Christ is offered, not hypostatically, as the Trent Fathers have determined, (for so he was but once offered,) but commemoratively only: and this commemoration is made to God the Father, and is not a bare remembering, or putting ourselves in mind of him. For every sacrifice is directed to God, and the oblation therein made, whatsoever it be, hath him for its object, and not man. In the holy Eucharist therefore, we set before God the bread and wine, as "figures or images of the precious blood of Christ "shed for us, and of his precious body," (they are the very words of the Clementine Liturgy[p],) and plead to God the merit of his Son's sacrifice once offered on the cross for us sinners, and in this sacrament represented, beseeching him for the sake thereof to bestow his heavenly blessings on us.

To conclude this matter: the ancients held the oblation of the Eucharist to be answerable in some respects to the legal sacrifices; that is, they believed that our blessed Saviour ordained the sacrament of the Eucharist as a rite of prayer and praise to God, instead of the manifold and bloody sacrifices of the Law. That the legal sacrifices were rites to invocate

[n] Μεμνημένοι προσφέρομεν. *Commemorantes*, or *Commemorando offerimus.*

[o] Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. [Luke xxii. 19.] Vid. Justin. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 296, 297. [c. 70. p. 168, 9.]

[p] Τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐκχυθέντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σώματος τὰ ἀντίτυπα. Constitut. Apost. VII. 25. [See also V. 14. et VI. 30.]

God by, is evident from many texts of Scripture, see especially 1 Sam. vii. 9. and xiii. 12; Ezra vi. 10; Prov. xv. 8. And that they were also rites for praising and blessing God for his mercies, appears from 2 Chron. xxix. 27. Instead therefore of slaying of beasts, and burning of incense, whereby they praised God, and called upon his name under the Old Testament; the Fathers, I say, believed our Saviour appointed this sacrament of bread and wine, as a rite whereby to give thanks and make supplication to his Father in his name. This you may see fully cleared and proved by the learned Mr. Mede, in his treatise entitled, *The Christian Sacrifice.* The eucharistical sacrifice, thus explained, is indeed λογικὴ θυσία, a *reasonable sacrifice*, widely different from that monstrous sacrifice of the mass taught in the church of Rome.

The other branch of the article is concerning transubstantiation, wherein the ecclesiastic professeth upon his solemn oath his belief, that in the Eucharist "there is made a conversion of the whole sub-"stance of the bread into the body, and of the whole "substance of the wine into the blood of Christ:" a proposition, that bids defiance to all the reason and sense of mankind; nor (God be praised) hath it any ground or foundation in divine revelation. Nay, the text of Scripture, on which the church of Rome builds this article, duly considered, utterly subverts and overthrows it. She grounds it upon the words of the institution of the holy Sacrament by our Saviour, the same night wherein he was betrayed; when he took bread, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, *This is my body*, τὸ διδόμενον, saith St. Luke, [xxii. 19.] τὸ κλώμενον, saith St. Paul,

[1 Cor. xi. 24.] *which is given and broken for you.* After the same manner he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, *Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the new testament,* τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον, *which is shed for many for the remission of sins.* Now whatsoever our Saviour said was undoubtedly true: but these words could not be true in a proper sense; for our Saviour's body was not then given or broken, but whole and inviolate; nor was there one drop of his blood yet shed. The words therefore must necessarily be understood in a figurative sense; and then, what becomes of the doctrine of transubstantiation? The meaning of our Saviour is plainly this: What I now do, is a representation of my death and passion near approaching; and what I now do, do ye hereafter, *do this in remembrance of me;* let this be a standing, perpetual ordinance in my church to the end of the world; let my death be thus annunciated and shewn forth till I come to judgment. See 1 Cor. xi. 26.

As little foundation hath this doctrine of transubstantiation in the ancient church, as appears sufficiently from what hath been already said concerning the notion then universally received of the eucharistical sacrifice. It was then believed to be an ἀνάμνησις, or *commemoration,* by the symbols of bread and wine, of the body and blood of Christ, once offered up to God on the cross for our redemption; it could not therefore be then thought an offering up again to God of the very body and blood of Christ, substantially present under the appearance of bread and wine; for these two notions are inconsistent, and cannot stand together. The ancient doctors, yea, and Liturgies of the church, affirm the Eucharist

to be *incruentum sacrificium*, "a sacrifice without "blood;" which it cannot be said to be, if the very blood of Christ were therein present and offered up to God. In the Clementine Liturgy, the bread and wine in the Eucharist are said to be *antitypa*, "cor- "respondent types," figures, and images of the precious body and blood of Christ. And divers others of the Fathers speak in the same plain language. *Vid. Greg. Naz. Apol. Orat.* 1. tom. I. *Cyril. Hierosol.* 5. *Cat. Myst. Ambros. de Sacrament.* lib. IV. cap. 4.

We are not ignorant that the ancient Fathers generally teach, that the bread and wine in the Eucharist, by or upon the consecration of them, do become and are made the *body and blood of Christ.* But we know also, that though they do not all explain themselves in the same way, yet they do all declare their sense to be very dissonant from the doctrine of transubstantiation. Some of the most ancient doctors of the church, as Justin Martyr [q] and Irenæus [r], seem to have had this notion, that by or upon the sacerdotal benediction, the Spirit of Christ, or a divine virtue from Christ, descends upon the elements, and accompanies them to all worthy communicants, and that therefore they are said to be, and are the body and blood of Christ; the same divinity, which is hypostatically united to the body of Christ in heaven, being virtually united to the elements of bread and wine on earth. Which also seems to be the meaning of all the ancient Liturgies, in which it is prayed, "that God would send down "his Spirit upon the bread and wine in the Eucharist."

[q] [Apol. I. 66. p. 83.] [r] [IV. 18. p. 251.]

And this doubtless is the meaning of Origen in his eighth book against Celsus, p. 399. [c. 33. p. 766.]; where, speaking of the holy Eucharist, he says, that therein, "we eat bread by prayer (i. e. by the prayer "of consecration for the descent of the divine Spirit "upon it) made a certain holy body, which also sanc- "tifies those who with a sound or sincere purpose "of heart use it[s];" but that neither Justin Martyr, nor Irenæus, nor Origen ever dreamed of the transubstantiation of the elements, is most evident. For Justin Martyr and Irenæus do both of them plainly affirm, that by eating and drinking the bread and wine in the Eucharist, "our bodies are nourished," and that the "bread and wine are digested and "turned into the substance of our bodies;" which to affirm of the glorified body of Christ were impious and blasphemous, and to affirm the same of the mere accidents of the bread and wine would be very absurd and ridiculous. And Origen expressly saith, "that what we eat in the Eucharist is bread, but "bread sanctified and made holy by prayer, and "which, by the divine virtue that accompanies it, "sanctifieth all those who worthily receive it." He that would see more of this notion of the ancient Fathers, and particularly those places of Justin Martyr and Irenæus fully cleared and vindicated from the forced and absurd glosses of the Romanists, may consult my learned friend Mr. Grabe, in his notes upon Justin Martyr's first Apology, of his own edition, p. 128, 129, but especially in his large and elaborate Annotation upon Irenæus, lib. IV. cap. 34. [c. 18.]

[s] "Αρτους ἐσθίομεν σῶμα γενομένους, διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἁγιόν τι καὶ ἁγίαζον τοὺς μεθ' ὑγιοῦς προθέσεως αὐτῷ χρωμένους.

I shall dismiss this article with this one only observation, that after the prodigious doctrine of transubstantiation was confirmed by the first Lateran council, there were many in the communion of the church of Rome, who could not digest it, did not in truth believe it, and wished from their hearts that their church had never defined it. For this we have the ample testimonies of very eminent writers of that church. "The conversion of the "bread and wine into Christ's body and blood," saith Cajetan, par. 3. qu. 75, article 1, "all of us do "teach in words, but in deed many deny it, think- "ing nothing less [s]. These are diversely divided one "from another. For some, by the conversion that "is in the sacrament, understand nothing but iden- "tity of place, that is, that the bread is therefore "said to be made the body of Christ, because where "the bread is, the body of Christ becomes present "also. Others understand by the word *conversion* "nothing else but the order of succession, that is, "that the body succeedeth and is under the veils "of accidents, under which the bread, which they "suppose to be annihilated, was before." Occam, *Centilogii conclus.* cap. 39, saith, "There are three "opinions about transubstantiation, of which the "first supposeth a conversion of the sacramental "elements; the second the annihilation; the third "affirmeth the bread to be in such manner transub- "stantiated into the body of Christ, that it is no "way changed in substance, or substantially con- "verted into Christ's body, or doth cease to be, but "only that the body of Christ, in every part of

[s] [i. e. though they think that they do not deny it: putantes se non negare illam.]

" it, becomes present in every part of the bread." Waldensis, tom. II. *de Sacram. Eucharistiæ*, cap. 19, reports out of Chrysopolitanus Zacharias's book, entitled, *In unum ex quatuor*, " That there were some, " perhaps many, but hardly to be discerned and " noted, who thought still as Berengarius did." The same Waldensis, in the same book, cap. 64, saith: " That some supposed the conversion that is in the " sacrament, to be, in that the bread and wine are " assumed into the unity of Christ's person; some " thought it to be by way of impanation, and some " by way of figurative and tropical appellation. The " first and second of these opinions found the better " entertainment in some men's minds, because they " grant the essential presence of Christ's body, and " yet deny not the presence of the bread still re- " maining, to sustain the appearing accidents." These opinions he reports to have been very acceptable to many, not without sighs, wishing the church had decreed that men should follow one of them.

It cannot be doubted, but that there are at this day many in the communion of the church of Rome, who are in the same perplexity about this article of transubstantiation, and have the same wishes, that their church had never made it an article of their faith; for the absurdities of transubstantiation, and the reason of mankind, are still the same. Now what a lamentable condition are they in, who are forced to profess (yea, and all ecclesiastics now by the Trent confession in the most solemn manner to swear) that they believe what they cannot for their hearts believe; whose consciences, between the determinations of their church, and the dictates of their own reason, yea, and sense too, are continually ground

as between two millstones! I have been long upon this article, but shall be more brief on the next.

The next article is this: "I confess also, that "under one kind only, whole and entire Christ, and "the whole sacrament is received[t]." Now this article of the "sufficiency of the sacrament of the Eu- "charist, taken only in one kind," as it refers to, and is designed to justify the practice of the Roman church, in the constant and public administration of the sacrament to all the laity only in one kind, viz., the bread, denying them the cup, is manifestly against our Saviour's first institution of the sacrament, against apostolical practice, and the usage of the universal church of Christ for a thousand years, as is confessed by divers learned men of the Roman communion. And yet, according to the Trent creed, all men are damned that do not assent to the insolent (and as I may justly term it) antichristian decree of the Roman church in this point. And who can without astonishment reflect on the stiffness and obstinacy and uncharitableness of the Trent Fathers in this matter? Before they met, when it was noised that a council should be called to redress the manifold abuses and corruptions that were in the church, it was the longing expectation and earnest desire of many good men, that, amongst other things, the communion in both kinds might be restored to the laity. There were a multitude of pious souls, as it were, upon their knees before them, thirsting after the cup of blessing, and earnestly begging for an entire sacrament. But those *duri Patres*, those hardhearted Fathers, had no compassion on them,

[t] Fateor etiam sub altera tantum specie totum atque integrum Christum verumque sacramentum sumi.

turned a deaf ear to their loud cries and supplications, only bidding them believe for the future, (what they could not believe,) that half the sacrament was every whit as good as the whole.

Immediately follows this article: "I firmly hold "that there is a purgatory, and that the souls de- "tained there are relieved by the prayers of the "faithful[u]." Now this article of a "purgatory after "this life," as it is understood and taught by the Roman church, (that is, to be a place and state of misery and torment, whereunto many faithful souls go presently after death, and there remain till they are throughly purged from their dross, or delivered thence by masses, indulgences, &c.,) is contrary to Scripture, and the sense of the catholic church for at least the first four centuries, as I have at large proved in a discourse concerning the state of the souls of men in the interval between death and the resurrection[x]: which I am ready to communicate to monsieur de Meaux, if he shall desire it. Indeed the doctrine of purgatory is not only an error, but a dangerous one too, which (I am verily persuaded) hath betrayed a multitude of souls into eternal perdition, who might have escaped hell, if they had not depended upon an after-game in purgatory. But this article, being very gainful to the Roman clergy, must above others be held fast, and constantly maintained and defended. "I firmly hold it[y]."

[z] Prayers for the dead, as founded on the hypo-

[u] Constanter teneo purgatorium esse, animasque ibi detentas fidelium suffragiis juvari.

[x] [Sermon III. p. 72.]

[y] Constanter teneo.

[z] [This passage, "Prayers for the dead——misery and tor- "ment," is taken almost literally from the third Sermon, p. 70, &c.]

thesis of purgatory, (and we no otherwise reject them,) fall together with it. The prayers for the dead used in the ancient church (those, I mean, that were more properly prayers, i. e. either deprecations or petitions) were of two sorts, either the common and general commemoration of all the faithful at the oblation of the holy Eucharist, or the particular prayers used at the funerals of any of the faithful lately deceased.

The former respected their final absolution, and the consummation of their bliss at the resurrection; like as that our church useth both in the Office for the Communion, and in that for the Burial of the Dead: which indeed seems to be no more than what we daily pray for in that petition of the Lord's Prayer, (if we rightly understand it,) "Thy king-" dom come." The latter were also charitable omens, and good wishes of the faithful living, as it were accompanying the soul of the deceased to the joys of paradise, of which they believed it already possessed, as the ancient author of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* in the last chapter of that book plainly informs us. In a word, let any understanding and unprejudiced person attentively observe the prayers for the dead in the most undoubtedly ancient Liturgies, especially those in the Clementine Liturgy, and those mentioned in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy;* and he will be so far from believing the Roman purgatory upon the account of those prayers, that he must needs see they make directly against it. For they all run (as even that prayer for the dead, which is unadvisedly left by the Romanists in their own canon of the mass, as a testimony against themselves) in this form: "For all that are in peace or

"at rest in the Lord." Now how can they be said to be "in peace or at rest in the Lord," who are supposed to be in a state of misery and torment?

The next article is this: "As also that the saints "reigning together with Christ are to be venerated "and invoked, and that they offer up prayers to God "for us; and that their relicks are to be venerated [z]." Now, for the worship and invocation of saints deceased, there is no ground or foundation in the holy Scriptures, no precept, no example. Nay it is by evident consequence forbidden in the prohibition of the worship and invocation of angels, Col. ii. 18. with which text compare the 35th canon of the council of Laodicea, and the judgment of the learned Father Theodoret concerning it, who flourished shortly after that council. He, in his notes upon that text of St. Paul, hath these express words; "The "synod, met at Laodicea in Phrygia, made a law "forbidding men to pray even to the angels [a]." See also Zonaras upon the same canon. He, as well as Theodoret long before him, rightly judged, that both in the text of St. Paul, and in the Laodicean canon, all prayers to angels are forbidden. Now if we must not pray to angels, then much less may we pray to saints. The angels are *ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to them who shall be heirs of salvation:* they watch over us, and are frequently present with us, nay they are *internuncii*, messengers between

[z] Similiter et sanctos una cum Christo regnantes venerandos et invocandos esse, eosque orationes Deo pro nobis offerre, eorumque reliquias esse venerandas.

[a] Ἡ σύνοδος συνελθοῦσα ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῆς Φρυγίας νόμῳ κεκώλυκε καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις προσεύχεσθαι.

God and us, conveying God's blessings to us, and our prayers to God, Acts x. 4. Apoc. viii. 3, none of which things are any where affirmed of the deceased saints. And yet we must not pray even to the angels.

Hear also Origen, who lived long before the Laodicean council, delivering the sense of the church of his time in this matter, lib. V. *contra Cels.* p. 233. edit. Cantab. [c. 4. p. 580.] where he excellently discourseth against the religious worship and invocation of angels; in opposition to which, he first lays down this as a received doctrine among all catholic Christians, "That all prayers, all supplications, de-"precations, and thanksgivings, are to be offered to "God the Lord of all, by the chief High Priest, who "is above all angels, the living Word, and God [b]." And presently after he shews the folly and unreasonableness of praying to angels upon several accounts. As first, because the particular knowledge of angels, and what offices they severally perform, is a secret which we cannot reach to; which is the very reason which St. Paul suggests in the text before mentioned, that whosoever worships and invocates the angels, doth *intrude into those things which he hath not seen* [c]. From whence we may easily gather, that Origen, in this discourse of his, had an eye to that text of St. Paul, and understood it as we do, to be a prohibition of all prayer to angels. 2. He argues, that if we should suppose that we could attain such particular knowledge of

[b] Πᾶσαν μὲν γὰρ δέησιν, καὶ προσευχὴν, καὶ ἔντευξιν, καὶ εὐχαριστίαν, ἀναπεμπτέον τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ, διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀγγέλων ἀρχιερέως, ἐμψύχου Λόγου καὶ Θεοῦ.

[c] Ἃ μὴ ἑώρακεν ἐμβατεύων.

the angels, yet it would not be lawful for us to pray to them, or any other, save to God the Lord of all, who alone is all-sufficient, abundantly able to supply all our wants and necessities, through our Saviour Jesus Christ, the Son of God, his word, wisdom, and truth. Lastly, he reasons to this effect, that the best way to gain the good-will of those blessed spirits, is not to pray to them, but to imitate them by paying our devotions to God alone, as they do. Hear the same Origen, lib. VIII. p. 402. [c. 37. p. 769.] where to Celsus talking of those spirits that preside over the affairs of men here below, who were thought to be appeased only by prayers to them in a barbarous language, he answers with derision, and tells him, he forgot with whom he had to do, and that he was speaking to Christians, "who pray to God alone "through Jesus[d]." And then he adds, that the genuine Christians, in their prayers to God, used no barbarous words, but prayed to him in the language of their respective countries, the Greek Christians in the Greek tongue, the Romans in the Roman language, as knowing that the God to whom they prayed understood all tongues and languages, and heard and accepted their prayers in their several languages, as well as if they had addressed themselves to him in one and the same language. Again in the same book, p. 420. [c. 64. p. 789.] to Celsus discoursing much after the same rate, he gives this excellent answer: "The one God is to be atoned by us, "the Lord of all, and must be entreated to be pro-"pitious to us, piety and prayers being the best "means of appeasing him. And if Celsus would

[d] Τοῖς μόνῳ τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εὐχομένοις.

" have others applied to after Him, let him assure " himself, that as the body's motion unavoidably " moves its shadow, so likewise when God is once " become propitious to any, all his angels, souls, and " spirits, will become friends to such an one [e]." From these testimonies of Origen, to which more might be added, it is very evident that the catholic Christians of his time made no prayers either to angels or saints, but directed all their prayers to God, through the alone mediation of Jesus Christ our Saviour. Indeed, against the invocation of angels and saints, we have the concurrent testimonies of all the catholic Fathers of the first three centuries at least. For as to that testimony of Justin Martyr, in his second (or rather first) Apology for the Christians, p. 56, [Apol. I. 6. p. 47,] alleged by Bellarmin, and others of his party, for the worshipping of angels as practised in the primitive times of the church, I have given a clear account of it, *Def. Fid. Nic.* II. 4, 8, where I have evidently proved that place of Justin to be so far from giving any countenance to the religious worship of angels, that it makes directly against it. And the like may be easily shewn of the other allegations of Bellarmin out of the primitive Fathers.

To conclude: look into the most ancient Liturgies, as particularly that described in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, and the Clementine Liturgy,

[e] *Ἕνα οὖν τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸν ἡμῖν ἐξευμενιστέον, καὶ τοῦτον ἵλεω ἔχειν εὐκτέον, ἐξευμενιζόμενον εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς βούλεται μετὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξευμενίζεσθαι Θεὸν, κατανοησάτω, ὅτι ὥσπερ τῷ κινουμένῳ σώματι ἀκολουθεῖ ἡ τῆς σκίας αὐτοῦ κίνησις, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐξευμενίζεσθαι τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸν, ἕπεται εὐμενεῖς ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους ἀγγέλους, καὶ ψυχὰς, καὶ πνεύματα.*

contained in the book, entitled the *Apostolical Constitutions;* and you will not find in them one prayer of any sort to angels or saints, no, not so much as an oblique prayer, (as they term it,) i. e. a prayer directed to God, that he would hear the intercession of angels and saints for us. And yet after all this, they are for ever damned by the Trent creed, who do not hold and practise the invocation of the saints deceased. For this is one of the articles of that creed, without the belief whereof, they tell us, "none "can be saved[f]:" that is, all are damned who pray unto God alone through Christ the Mediator, as the Scripture directs, and the catholic church of the first and best ages hath practised.

As to what follows. "that the saints departed do "offer up their prayers to God for us;" if it be understood of the intercession of the saints in general, we deny it not. But this is no reason why we should pray to them to pray for us. Nay, on the contrary, if the deceased saints do of their own accord, and out of their perfect charity, pray for us, what need we be so solicitous to call upon them for their prayers, especially when our reason and Scripture also tell us, that we are out of their hearing, and that they do not, cannot know our particular wants and necessities? For, as to what the Romanists tell us of the glass of the Trinity, and extraordinary revelations, they are bold presumptuous conjectures, destitute of any ground or colour from reason or Scripture, and indeed are inconsistent with one another. To be sure, that conceit of the glass of the Trinity would never have passed with the

[f] Nemo salvus esse potest.

Fathers of the first ages; for they generally held, "that the souls of the righteous" (some indeed excepted of the souls of the martyrs) "do not presently after death ascend to the third heaven, but "go to a place and state of inferior bliss and happiness," (which they commonly call by the name of paradise, though where it is situated they do not all agree,) "and there remain till the resurrection of "their bodies; after which they shall enter into the "kingdom of heaven, and there for ever enjoy that "consummate bliss and happiness which consists in "that clear vision of God, which the holy Scripture "calls *seeing him face to face.*" And indeed, their distinction of paradise (the receptacle of holy souls presently after death) from the third heaven, seems to have firm ground in the New Testament; vid. Luke xxiii. 43; 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3, 4; and *Grot. in loca;* and was undoubtedly received in the church of God before the coming of the Lord in the flesh. However, this was a current doctrine in the Christian church for many ages; till at length the popish council of Florence boldly determined the contrary, defining, "that those souls, which having contracted "the blemish of sin, being either in their bodies, or "out of them, purged from it, are presently received "into heaven, and there clearly behold God himself, "one God in three Persons, as he is[g]." This decree they craftily made, partly to establish the superstition of praying to saints deceased, whom they would make us to believe to see and know all our necessities and concerns *in speculo Trinitatis*, as was said before, and so to be fit objects of our religious invo-

[g] Eas animas quæ post contractam peccati maculam, &c.

cation, partly and chiefly to confirm the doctrine of purgatory, and that the prayers of the ancient church for the dead might be thought to be founded upon a supposition, that the souls of some, nay, most faithful persons, after death, go into a place of grievous torment, out of which they may be delivered by the prayers, masses, and alms of the living. But this by the way.

It is added in the creed, "that not only the saints "themselves, but also their relicks are to be wor- "shipped." A strange definition of the Trent Fathers, especially if we consider the time when it was made; a time when the best and wisest men in the Roman communion sadly complained of the vile cheat put upon the poor ignorant people, by shewing them I know not what relicks of saints, and drawing them to the worship of them, only for gain's sake, and to pick their pockets. Hear the judgment of the learned and pious Cassander as to this article: —"Seeing there are a small number of true and "approved relicks, especially in these provinces, and "many of those which are made show of, are too "apparently liable to suspicion, and the frequenting "and veneration of them is of little service to true "piety and devotion, though of very much to super- "stition or gain; it seems to me much more proper, "that all such ostentation of miracles were forborne, "and the people were invited to worship the true "relicks of saints, that is, the examples of piety and "virtue they have left behind them for our imita- "tion, as is recorded in what has been written either "by them or of them [h]."

[h] Cum veræ et compertæ reliquiæ, præsertim in his provinciis, perpaucæ sint, et multæ ex iis quæ ostentantur non temere sus-

The next article of the Trent creed is this:— "I most firmly assert, that the images of Christ, "and the ever Virgin Mother of God, and other "saints, are to be had and retained, and that due "honour and veneration are to be given them[i]." A doughty article indeed, worthy to be ushered in with a *Firmissime assero!* But is this really an article of the catholic Christian faith, without the belief whereof there is no salvation? What then is become again of the catholic church of the first three centuries and downwards? For it is certain, that the church of those days never allowed the use of images in her oratories or conventicles, much less the adoration and worship of them. This appears from what we read of Adrian the Roman emperor, related by Ælius Lampridius in the Life of Alexander Severus, [c. 43.] that he favouring the Christians, and willing to gratify them in their way of worship, commanded that they should have temples built for them without any images in them; as well knowing their utter aversation to the setting up of images in the places of their religious worship. This also more plainly appears from the writings of the Christian apologists of those times against the heathens objecting to them, that they had no images that they worshipped, and consequently, that they were atheists, and worshipped

pectæ haberi possint, atque illorum frequentatio et veneratio non multum pietati, plurimum vero superstitioni vel questui serviant; multo consultius videtur, ut ab omni reliquiarum ostentatione abstineatur, et populus ad veras sanctorum reliquias colendas, id est, exempla pietatis et virtutum quæ in scriptis, vel ab ipsis, vel de ipsis extant, imitanda provocetur.

[i] Firmissime assero imagines Christi ac Deiparæ semper Virginis necnon aliorum sanctorum habendas et retinendas esse, atque eis debitum honorem et venerationem impertiendam.

no God at all; for they thought there could be no religious worship of any thing, without some visible image of the object to be worshipped; and finding no image at all, of any sort, in the oratories of the Christians, they concluded that the Christians worshipped no Deity. Now our apologists are so far from pleading to this objection, that the Christians had images in their places of worship, that they answer without any distinction, by way of concession, and that not only granting that they had no images, but affirming they ought not to have them, and condemned the Gentiles which had. See Minutius Felix [k], Arnobius [l], and Lactantius [m].

In the fourth century indeed, there were some attempts to bring in pictures into the Christian oratories, but they were presently checked and repressed by the governors of the church, as appears from the 36th canon of the council of Eliberis in Spain, and from the relation which Epiphanius gives us (who flourished towards the end of the fourth century) in his Epistle to John bishop of Jerusalem, translated by St. Jerome out of Greek into Latin, tom. II. *Oper. Hieronymi;* [v. Epiphanii Op. ed. 1682. vol. II. p. 317.] where he tells John of Jerusalem, that going into a church in the village of Anablatha to pray, he found there a picture hanging up, which (though it were out of his own diocese) he cut in pieces, as being scandalous and contrary to the holy Scriptures; and desires John to take care for the future, that no such pictures be hung up in any church under his jurisdiction. The words of Epiphanius are these: "At my entrance into the church

[k] [P. 91.] [l] [VI. init.] [m] [II. 2.]

" to pray, I saw there a veil hanging within the " doors of the same church, died, and painted, and " having the image as it were of Christ, or some " saint, for I do not well remember whose it was. " When therefore I had seen this image of a man " hanging in the church of Christ, against the au- " thority of the Scriptures, I tore it in pieces, and " advised the keepers of the place to wrap therewith " a poor dead man, and carry him to burial in it. " And whereas they on the other hand murmured, " saying, that if he would tear the veil, he ought in " justice to change it, and give them another for it: " I no sooner heard this, but I promised to give " them one, and that I would send it presently. " However, some little time passed, whilst I was " seeking after the best veil, to send them it; for I " thought I must send one from Cyprus. But now " I have sent such as I could meet with; and I be- " seech thee, command the presbyters of that place " to receive the veil we have sent from the bearer, " and to command for the future, that no such veils " as are contrary to our religion be hung up in the " church of Christ. For it becomes thy worth to " have the greater care in this respect, that thou " mayest take away all such scrupulosity as is un- " worthy of the Christian church, and the people " committed to thy charge [n]." The authority of this

[n] Cum intrassem in ecclesiam ut orarem, inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejusdem ecclesiæ tinctum atque depictum, et habens imaginem quasi Christi, vel sancti cujusdam, non enim satis memini cujus imago fuerit; cum ergo hoc vidissem, in ecclesia Christi contra authoritatem Scripturarum hominis pendere imaginem, scidi illud, et magis dedi consilium custodibus ejusdem loci, ut pauperem mortuum eo obvolverent et efferrent. Illique contra

epistle is vindicated from the cavils of Bellarmin, by the learned Andrew Rivet, in his *Critici Sacri*, III. 29. How would the zeal of this great and good bishop have been inflamed, if he had seen what we nowadays see, not only pictures, but massy images in churches, and people praying, kneeling, and burning incense before them!

By what means image-worship in after-ages entered into the church, is not so easy to tell; nor is it very necessary. But this is certain, that about the beginning of the eighth century it had gotten great ground. For in the year of our Lord 754, in the reign of Constantine, nicknamed Copronymus, a general council was convened at Constantinople, consisting of 338 bishops, declaring itself the seventh general council. *Vide Syn. CP. in Act. Syn. Nic.* II. p. 621. edit. Col. an. 1618. This synod expressly condemned all worship of images, "decreeing it to "be abominable; and that all images, of whatsoever "matter or colour they were made, should be cast "out of all Christian churches." Ibid. p. 965. And presently after, they decree severe punishments to any man "that should dare from thenceforward to "make, worship, or set up in the church, or in his

murmurantes dixerunt, si scindere voluerat, justum erat ut aliud daret velum atque mutaret. Quod cum audissem, me daturum esse pollicitus sum et illico esse missurum. Paululum autem morarum fuit in medio, dum quæro optimum velum pro eo mittere; arbitrabar enim de Cypro mihi esse mittendum. Nunc autem misi, quod potui reperire; et precor ut jubeas presbyteros ejusdem loci suscipere velum a latore, quod a nobis missum est: et deinceps præcipere, in ecclesia Christi istiusmodi vela, quæ contra religionem nostram veniunt, non appendi. Decet enim honestatem tuam hanc magis habere solicitudinem, ut scrupulositatem tollat, quæ indigna est ecclesia Christi, et populis qui tibi crediti sunt.

" own house, any such image, as being a transgressor " of the commandment of God, and an enemy to the " doctrine of the Fathers." Where observe, that the bishops of this council condemn all image-worship, as contrary both to Scripture and also " to the doc- " trine of the Fathers of the church that were before " them," as indeed we have already shewn it to be. In this council, Germanus bishop of Constantinople, Georgius Cyprius, and Damascene a monk, who were the chief sticklers for image-worship, were excommunicated.

About thirty years after, viz., an. 787, another council met at Constantinople first, and was afterwards translated to Nice, in which the decree of the former synod was exploded, and image-worship first established in the church. This council was called by the empress Irene, a bigoted image-worshipper. She had so great an influence upon this synod, that partly by her persuasions, partly by her threatenings, several bishops, who in the former synod had condemned image-worship, were now for it. Among these, Basilius bishop of Ancyra, Theodorus bishop of Myra, and Theodosius bishop of Amorium, were brought in as *pompæ Circences*, and offered to this council their letters supplicant, confessing that they had sinned in condemning the worship of images in the synod convened by Constantinus Copronymus. *Dux fœmina facti:* it was a woman that first brought this childish worship (the great Hincmar of Rheims calls it *puparum cultum*, " baby-worship") into the church of Christ. The bishops in this synod, being destitute of Scripture proof and authentic tradition for their image-worship, betook themselves

"to certain apocryphical and ridiculous stories[o]," as Charles the Great observed. For in this synod, a letter from Adrian, bishop of Rome, to Constantine and Irene, was produced and openly read, full of the most ridiculous fables, as particularly concerning the leprosy of Constantine the Great before his conversion; the barbarous remedy that he sought after by the blood of innocent babes; the appearing of St. Peter and St. Paul to him in a dream, advising him to send for pope Sylvester, who, upon we know not what persecution raised by Constantine against the Christians, was fled with his clergy to the mountain Soracte, and there hid themselves in the caves thereof; that when Sylvester came to him, he commanded his deacons to produce the images of St. Peter and Paul, which as soon as the emperor saw, he cried out aloud, "These are the very images that I saw in my "dream; I am convinced, I believe, and desire the "laver of baptism;" which when he had received, he was immediately cured of his leprosy; that thereupon, in gratitude for the benefit he had received, he ordered churches to be built for the Christians, whose walls and pillars should be adorned with the holy images of Christ and the saints. Was there ever such a legend offered to a synod of bishops? And yet this letter of Adrian was accepted and approved of by the whole council. Had none of them read the life of Constantine, written by Eusebius?

Wherefore, about seven years after, viz., an. 794, this Nicene synod was condemned and abdicated by a council of about three hundred bishops, convened

[o] Ad apocryphas quasdam et risu dignas nænias. *Car. Mag.* III. 3.

at Frankfort by Charles the Great, king of France. In this synod, were present not only the bishops of France, but also of Germany and Lombardy, as provinces subdued to the king of France. Pope Adrian also sent his legates thither, and the great Charles himself honoured this council with his presence.

The Romanists are hard put to it to ward the stroke of this council against the worshippers of images. They have several evasions. Genebrard [p] and Bellarmin [q] tell us, that the Fathers at Frankfort mistook the meaning of the second Nicene council, as thinking they had decreed, "the worship due to "God alone [r]," to be given to the images of the saints, which they were very far from doing. But it is far more probable that Genebrard and Bellarmin were both grossly mistaken. There were assembled in this council almost all the learned bishops of the west; they had the acts of the second Nicene synod before them, and diligently perused them, and upon examination condemned them as to the point of image-worship. Besides, our Alcuinus, the emperor's tutor, the most learned man of that age, had before so fully examined the Nicene acts, that he wrote a learned discourse against them, and notably refuted them, as we shall hear by and by. Lastly, it is certain that the Fathers of the council of Frankfort did not condemn only *cultum latriæ* to be given to images, but all manner of religious worship.

Others therefore tell us [s], that they who urge the

[p] Lib. III. Chron. an. 790.

[q] Lib. II. de Imag. cap. 14. [Op. vol. II. p. 991.]

[r] Cultum latriæ.

[s] Surius in admon. ad lect. pro Syn. Frank. [vol. III. p. 226.] Coriolanus in Concilio Frank. ad an. 794.

testimony of the Frankfort synod against image-worship are utterly mistaken; that the synod which the Fathers at Frankfort condemned was not the council of Nice, but that of Constantinople under Constantinus Copronymus; that the Frankfort synod perfectly agreed with the Fathers of the Nicene council, and confirmed the worship of images. This is strange news indeed, but it is far from being true. The mistake of those writers who tell us this (if it were a mistake in them, and not a wilful prevarication) arose from hence, that the synod which established image-worship met first (as I noted before) at Constantinople, though it was afterwards translated to Nice; and so might be truly said to be a council convened at Constantinople, and thereupon be mistaken for that council of Constantinople, which was convened by Constantinus Copronymus, which was indeed confirmed by the Frankfort Fathers. But that it was the second council of Nice, that was condemned by the synod at Frankfort, and that upon this very account, that it had introduced image-worship into the church, we have abundant evidence.

For this is testified, not only by Walafridus Strabo, but also by Ado Viennensis and Regino Prumiensis in their histories; with whom Abbas Uspergensis agrees in his chronicle, where he thus writes: "In "the year 793, whilst Charles was celebrating the "feast of Easter in Frankfort, a numerous synod of "bishops was gathered together out of all the pro-"vinces of the realm; the legates of pope Adrian "were there also in his stead. In this synod the "heresy of a certain bishop named Felix was con-"demned.——The synod likewise which a few

" years before met at Constantinople, under Irene " and Constantine her son, and was called the " seventh general council, was universally renounced " as useless, that so it might neither be styled the " seventh, nor by any other name[t]." That the council here said to be condemned by the Frankfort synod was the second council of Nice, is evident, for it is expressly said to be the council convened under the empress Irene and Constantine her son, and that but a few years before. But it is said to be convened at Constantinople, because there indeed it first met, as was noted before.

Add to this the testimony of Hincmar of Rheims, an author in all respects most worthy of credit in this matter: " In the time of the emperor Char- " lemaign, a general synod was held in France by " order of the apostolic see, the said emperor con- " vening it. And according to the direction of the " holy Scriptures, and the tradition of the ancients, " the Greek synod was condemned and wholly laid " aside. Of the condemnation whereof a volume of " no small size was sent from the same emperor to " Rome by some of the bishops, and I myself have " read it in the palace in my younger days[u]."

[t] Anno Dom. DCCXCIII. Carolo in Franconofurt pascha celebrante, synodus episcoporum magna collecta est ex omnibus regni provinciis: legati quoque Hadriani papæ in ejus vice affuerunt. In hac synodo hæresis cujusdam episcopi Felicis nomine damnata est.—Synodus etiam, quæ ante paucos annos in Constantinopoli congregata sub Hirene et Constantino filio ejus septima et universalis ab ipsis appellata est, ut nec septima nec aliquid diceretur, quasi supervacua ab omnibus abdicata est. [p. 176.]

[u] Tempore Caroli Magni imperatoris, jussione apostolicæ sedis generalis est synodus in Francia convocante præfato imperatore

In the same chapter he afterwards adds, "Where-
"fore by the authority of this synod the worship of
"images was somewhat restrained: yet not so, but
"that Adrian and the other bishops persevered in
"their opinion; and after the death of Charles,
"most earnestly promoted their puppet worship:
"insomuch that Lewis, Charles's son, wrote a book,
"wherein he fell much sharper upon the worship of
"images than his father had done[x]."

With what indignation and abhorrence the decree of the Nicene pseudo-synod was received by our British church, our historians tell us. Hear Roger Hoveden. "Charles, king of France, sent the book
"of the council, directed to himself from Constan-
"tinople, into Britain; in which book, alas! alas!
"many things were found unagreeable and con-
"trary to the true faith; especially, that by the
"unanimous assertion of almost all the eastern
"doctors, that is to say, of not less than three hun-
"dred or more bishops, the worship of images was
"confirmed: which the church of God utterly abo-
"minated. Against which, Alcuinus wrote an epi-
"stle wonderfully supported with authorities out
"of the holy Scriptures, and brought it with the

celebrata, et secundum Scripturarum tramitem traditionemque majorum ipsa Græcorum pseudo-synodus destructa et penitus abdicata; de cujus destructione non modicum volumen, quod in palatio adolescentulus legi, ab eodem imperatore Romam est per quosdam episcopos missum. *Hincmar. Rhem. adv. Hincmar. Laudon.* cap. 20. [Op. vol. II. p. 457.]

[x] Authoritate itaque hujus synodi non nihil repressa est imaginum veneratio: sed tamen Hadrianus et alii pontifices in sua opinione perseverarunt: et mortuo Carolo suarum puparum cultum vehementius promoverunt: adeo ut Ludovicus, Caroli filius, libro longe acriori insectatus sit imaginum cultum, quam Carolus.

" same book to the king of France, in the name of " our bishops and princes[y]."

From whence it appears, that the Nicene acts, sent from Constantinople to Charles the Great, were by him before the Frankfort synod first sent to Britain; and being examined and abundantly refuted, and that from the holy Scriptures, by our most learned Alcuinus, were carried back again, together with that refutation of them, to the emperor in the name of our bishops and princes: so that even then the British church was protestant in this article concerning image-worship.

And indeed, I am persuaded that no man of judgment and integrity, that hath been conversant in the holy Scriptures, and in the writings of the more ancient doctors of the church, will be able to read those acts of the pseudo-synod of Nice, without indignation and abhorrence of it, when he observes upon what ridiculous fables, gross misinterpretations of Scripture, falsifications, and impertinent allegations of the ancient Fathers, the bishops of that convention built their decree concerning image-worship. Notwithstanding all this, the bishops at Trent chose to follow that wretched synod, and have decreed,

y Carolus rex Francorum misit synodalem librum at Britanniam sibi a Constantinopoli directum, in quo libro (heu! prô dolor!) multa inconvenientia et veræ fidei contraria reperiebantur: maxime quod pene omnium orientalium doctorum, non minus quam trecentorum vel eo amplius episcoporum, unanimi assertione confirmatum fuerit, imagines adorari debere, *quod omnino ecclesia Dei execratur*. Contra quod scripsit Albinus [Alcuinus] epistolam ex authoritate divinarum Scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam, illamque cum eodem libro, ex persona episcoporum ac principum nostrorum, regi Francorum attulit. Part. 1. Annal. ad annum 792. Vide et Matth. Westmon. ad ann. 793.

and that as an article of faith, most firmly to be asserted, "that the images of Christ and the saints are "to be retained, yea, and worshipped too." May not one presume to ask why? What necessity is there of this? Cannot the church of Christ be as well without these images, and this image-worship now, as it was in the more ancient and purer times of it? Nay, may we not farther ask, what good use at all can be made of these images and this image-worship? The answer of the Romanists here is, that these images are *libri laicorum, et idiotarum*, "books fit to "instruct the ignorant laity" that cannot read the holy Scriptures, and apt to raise devotion in them. But to this plea for image-worship, made use of by Wading, a Jesuit of Antwerp, his learned antagonist returns this excellent answer, with which I shall conclude what I have to say upon this article: "I "deny not but images may be of use to the stupid "vulgar, who are led only by their senses, for raising "their devotion at the sight of them; but see, I "pray thee, whether many more and greater dis- "advantages are not to be feared from the use and "worship of them. For in the first place, it is "scarce possible but that the ignorant and profane "vulgar will be apt hence to imbibe filthy and sordid "notions of God and the saints, will depend upon "these images and statues as their tutelar gods, will "pay them as bad or worse adoration than the hea- "thens paid to their abominations; and, lastly, will "grow mere brutes by using images instead of "books, as if there were no need of understanding "more than these will teach them. This, were it "proper, might be abundantly confirmed: but I "only appeal to experience, as above all exception.

" In the next place, it cannot be but the Jews must
" be most intolerably scandalized at the use and
" worship of images, and will be the more averse to
" all thoughts of ever embracing of Christianity,
" inasmuch as the worship of a statue or image is a
" dreadful, heinous, and enormous crime with them.
" They most firmly believe that he can never be the
" Messias, whose disciples allow as lawful what is so
" directly contrary to the divine law. And this is
" to be reckoned so much the greater evil, because
" it is almost the principal occasion of all the Jews'
" indignation against Christ and Christians; so that
" their conversion to our religion is in my opinion
" to be despaired of, unless this stumblingblock be
" first taken out of the way. Thirdly, offence will
" hereby be inevitably given to an infinite number
" of Christians, and they will be irreconcilably alien-
" ated from your church, whilst, having their minds
" possessed with a true sense of the divine prohibi-
" tion, they think they have just reason to look upon
" image-worship as no better than idolatry: when
" also at the same time, those that contend for it do
" not believe it necessary by reason of any divine
" command, yet nevertheless press it as much as in
" them lies upon men's consciences, as though it
" were necessary. Who sees not what great evils and
" inconveniences these are? The ignorant people are
" tempted to continue in their profane sottishness;
" the Jews in their destructive error; Christians in
" their deplorable schism; and all good men in an
" endless despair of ever seeing an amendment. So
" that I need not fear to make thyself the judge
" between us; and beg thee to tell me seriously,
" whether the single advantage of using and wor-

" shipping images will equal, not to say preponderate, " these so many and so great mischiefs [z]."

The next article is concerning papal indulgences, in these words: " I also affirm, that the power of

[z] Non diffiteor imagines servire posse stupido vulgo, quod non nisi sensibus suis ducitur, ut earum conspectu ad devotionem excitetur: sed vide sis, obsecro, an non multo plura et graviora incommoda metuenda sunt, ex usu et cultu earum. Primo enim, fieri aliter vix potest, quin rude et profanum vulgus opiniones fœdas et sordidas de Deo sanctisque imbibat, ut ex ipsis imaginibus et statuis tanquam a diis suis tutelaribus pendeat, iis tribuat quæ Gentilium abominationibus paria sunt, si non deteriora: denique ut istarum imaginum tanquam librorum suorum usu prorsus obbrutescat, quasi aliud quid scire aut sapere opus non habeat. Confirmare hoc possem prolixe, si luberet: sed experientiam solam testem do, quæ omni exceptione major est. Secundo fieri non potest ut per imaginum usum ac cultum non gravissime offendantur Judæi, et a religione Christi amplectenda reddantur alieniores: nimirum piaculum, scelus, aut flagitium summum pene ipsis est statuæ aut imaginis cultus. Messiam esse non posse firmissime credunt, cujus discipuli tam directe contraria divinæ legi licita esse sibi persuadent. Hoc malum tanto pluris æstimandum venit, quod præcipuum pene est, quod Judæorum bilem in Christum et Christianos acuit, adeo ut desperata mihi videatur eorum ad Christianam religionem conversio, quamdiu hic obex ipsis ponitur. Tertio, fieri non potest, ut non offendatur, immo alienissimus non reddatur ab ecclesia vestra infinitus Christianorum numerus, qui solius interdicti divini religione adducti cultum imaginum idololatriam sibi esse persuadent: cum ii, qui eum urgent, ex præcepto divino eum non credant necessarium esse, nihilominus tamen quanta possunt vi eum tanquam necessarium conscientiis imperent. Quanta hæc mala et incommoda sint, quis non videt? Rudi populo datur causa manendi in profano suo stupore; Judæis in funesto ipsorum errore; Christianis in deplorando schismate; piis omnibus in æterna remedii desperatione. Anne hisce tot tantisque incommodis una ista utilitas, quam ex imaginum usu cultuque percipi vis, æquipolleat, nedum præponderet, te ipsum judicem poscere non dubito. *Episcopii Resp. ad Epist. Pet. Wadingi de Cultu Imag.* cap. 8.

" granting indulgences was left by Christ to the " church, and the use of them tends very much to " the salvation of Christians [a]." Now the doctrine of indulgences, as it was before the council of Trent, and hath been since taught in the church of Rome, is big with gross errors. It depends on the fiction of purgatory; it supposeth a superfluity of the satisfactions of the saints; which, being jumbled together (*horreo referens*) with the merits and satisfaction of our Saviour, make up one treasury of the church; that the bishop of Rome keeps the key of it, as having the sole power of granting indulgences, either by himself immediately or by others commissioned from him; lastly, it very absurdly extends the effect of the power of the keys, left by Christ in his church, to men in the other world. Is not this now a doctrine worthy of a place in our creed, and to be made an article of the catholic faith? That the doctrine and use of indulgences were never heard of in the church of Christ for many hundreds of years is certain, and confessed too by divers learned men of the Roman communion. I shall cite only one of them, but he such a one as may be *instar omnium*. Our Roffensis [b], Luther's great antagonist, and Rome's martyr, gives us this account of indulgences: " Many perhaps " are tempted not to rely much upon indulgences, " upon this consideration, that the use of them ap- " pears to be new, and very lately known amongst " Christians. To whom I answer, it is not very

[a] Indulgentiarum etiam potestatem a Christo in ecclesia relictam fuisse, illarumque usum Christiano populo maxime salutarem esse affirmo.

[b] [i. e. J. Fisher, bishop of Rochester.]

" certain who was the first author of them. The " doctrine of purgatory was rarely, if at all, heard " of amongst the ancients. And to this very day, " the Greeks believe it not. Nor was the belief " either of purgatory or indulgences so necessary in " the primitive church as it is now. So long as " men were unconcerned about purgatory, nobody " inquired after indulgences; for upon that depends " all the worth of indulgences. Take away purga- " tory, and there is no more need of these. Seeing " therefore purgatory was so lately known and re- " ceived in the universal church, who will wonder " that in the first ages of Christianity indulgences " were not made use of[b]?"

In this indeed the bishop seems to be mistaken, that he thought the doctrine of purgatory and the use of indulgences to be coeval, and that the latter immediately and necessarily follows from the former. It is true, purgatory and papal indulgences are both of them later inventions. But I think, when men were first seduced to a belief of purgatory, they

[b] Multos fortasse movet indulgentiis istis non usqueadeo fidere, quod earum usus in ecclesia videatur fuisse recentior, et admodum sero repertus apud Christianos. Quibus ego respondeo, non certo constare a quo primum tradi cœperunt. De purgatorio apud priscos nulla vel quam rarissima fiebat mentio. Sed et Græcis ad hunc usque diem non est creditum purgatorium esse. Nec tam necessaria fuit sive purgatorii seu indulgentiarum fides in primitiva ecclesia atque nunc est. Quamdiu nulla fuerat de purgatorio cura, nemo quæsivit indulgentias. Nam ex illo pendet omnis indulgentiarum existimatio. Si tollas purgatorium, quorsum indulgentiis opus erit? Quum itaque purgatorium tam sero cognitum ac receptum ecclesiæ fucrit universæ, quis jam de indulgentiis mirari potest, quod in principio nascentis ecclesiæ nullus fucrit earum usus? *Art.* 18. *cont. Lutherum.* [Op. p. 496. ed. 1597.]

were not yet presently so foolish, as to think that any one mortal man had power by his pardons to deliver men out of it. Antichristianism in the Roman church did not presently come to that maturity, nor was the papal power so soon advanced to that prodigious height and greatness. It was at first more reasonably judged, that the supposed miserable souls in purgatory were to receive their relief rather from the prayers of the church, together with the prayers, almsdeeds, and good works of their living friends and relations.

To sum up this matter in short: papal indulgences, as taught and used in the church of Rome, (to which this article of the Trent creed must have reference; or else let any man tell me what the meaning of it is,) if they were freely granted, can by no means be justified and defended, but the merchandise and sale of them for money is abominable. That such a vile trade of indulgences hath been driven in the church of Rome, cannot, without the greatest impudence, be denied, as long as the *Taxæ Cancellariæ Apostolicæ*[c] is extant. Of which filthy book Espencæus, a learned doctor of the Roman communion, thus sadly and most justly complains in *Epist. ad Tit.* c. 1: "There is exposed to sale, "and easily to be had by any who will be at the "charge of purchasing it, a book openly and publicly printed here, and which may be had now "as well as formerly, entitled, *The Tax of the "Apostolical Chamber or Chancery*, whereby may "be learned more sorts of wickedness, than from

[c] Taxa Cancell. Apost. Paris. apud Tass. Denis. 1520. [printed also in vol. XV. part I. of *Tractatus illustrium Jurisconsultorum*, Venet. 1584, p. 368.]

" all the summists and the summaries of all vices, " and a license for most of them, but an absolution " for all, is offered to such as will bid well for it. " I spare names; for, as one, though at present I " cannot well recollect who, says, the very repeating " of them is offensive. It is wonderful, that during " this time and this schism, such an infamous kind " of index of so many such foul and horrid wicked- " nesses (that I cannot imagine any more scan- " dalous work is to be met with in Germany or " Switzerland, or any of those countries that have " withdrawn their obedience to the papal see) " should not have been suppressed. So far have " the factors from the Roman communion been from " suppressing it, that many new impunities for such " so gross enormities are granted, and the rest con- " firmed in the faculties of the legates despatched " to their several countries[d]." A little after, he adds out of Mantuan, " It is sad to see how " money carries all things at Rome[e]." And not very long before the council of Trent, what a pro-

[d] *Prostat et in quæstu pro meretrice sedet* liber palam ac publice hic impressus, et hodieque ut olim venalis, Taxa Cameræ seu Cancellariæ Apostolicæ inscriptus, in quo plus scelerum discas licet, quam in omnibus omnium vitiorum summistis et summariis: et plurimis quidem licentia, omnibus autem absolutio empturientibus proposita; parco nominibus, nam quod ait nescio quis

Nomina sunt ipso pene timenda sono.

Mirum hoc tempore, hoc schismate, non suppressum tot tamque fœdorum tamque horrendorum scelerum velut indicem adeo infamem ut non putem in Germania, Helvetia, et ubicunque a Romana sede defectum est opus prostare majore hujus scandalo; et adeo tamen non supprimitur ab ecclesiæ Romanæ favissoribus, ut talium ac tantorum facinorum licentiæ ac impunitates in facultatibus legatorum illinc huc venientium bona ex parte innoventur atque confirmentur.

[e] Heu Romæ nunc sola pecunia regnat. *Mant. Ecl.* v. 123.

digious mass of money pope Leo raised by these indulgences, the noble historian Thuanus tells us: "Leo," saith he, "to the guilt of his dispensations, "added another and greater, when at the instiga- "tion of the cardinal Laurence Puccius, he every "where exacted monies in vast sums, sending his "bulls through all the kingdoms of Christendom, "promising forgiveness of all their sins, and eternal "life, at a price stated according to the quality of "their crimes[f]."

In a word, all sober men cried shame at this abominable cheat, imposed on the souls of men for whom Christ died. And if the men, that influenced and governed the Trent convention, had had any true sense of religion, they would have denounced an anathema against this vile doctrine and practice, and not (as they have done) decreed, and that as an article of faith without any restriction or qualification, "That the use of indulgences is highly con- "ducing to the salvation of Christians[g]." But they were the pope's vassals, and received their instructions from Rome not to reform any thing, though never so much amiss, that tended to the grandeur and gain of that see.

The last article I shall take notice of is contained in these words: "I acknowledge the holy

[f] Peccatum in sacris muneribus dispensandis admissum Leo mox longe graviore cumulavit, cum Laurentii Puccii cardinalis impulsu, ut pecuniam ad immensos sumptus undique corrogaret, missis per omnia Christiani orbis regna diplomatis, omnium delictorum expiationem ac vitam æternam pollicitus est constituto pretio, quod quisque pro peccati gravitate dependeret. *Jac. Thuan. Histor. sui temporis ad ann.* 1515.

[g] Indulgentiarum usum Christiano populo maxime salutarem esse.

" catholic and apostolic Roman church to be the " mother and mistress of all churches, and promise " true obedience to the pope of Rome, successor " to St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and the " vicar of Jesus Christ [g]." Here the ecclesiastic swears to three great untruths, one upon the neck of another. 1 " That the Roman church is the mo- " ther of all other churches;" which is a manifest falsehood in matter of fact. For every body knows that the church of Jerusalem was the first mother church, and is so called and acknowledged by the ancient Fathers. St. Jerome saith, " It was the " church founded at Jerusalem, that planted all the " other churches [h]." And the synodical letter from the council of Constantinople to Damasus and the western bishops, calls Cyril bishop of Jerusalem, " which is the mother of all churches [i]." From this truly mother church divers other churches were planted in the east, before the Gospel came to Rome; as particularly the church of Antioch [k], where the disciples were first called Christians. Upon the persecution raised against the church of Jerusalem, the Christians of that church, being dispersed and scattered abroad, soon spread the Gospel far and near through the east. And to come nearer home, it is affirmed by some learned men of the Roman church, that our Britain received the Gospel before Rome.

[g] Sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Romanam eccl. omnium ecclesiarum matrem et magistram agnosco; Romano pontifici, beati Petri apostolorum principis successori, ac Jesu Christi vicario veram obedientiam spondeo.

[h] Ecclesia in Hierusalem fundata totius orbis ecclesias seminavit. *Com. in Is.* [I. 2. p. 33.]

[i] Τῆς μητρὸς ἁπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. *Theodoret. Eccl. Hist.* V. 9.

[k] Acts xi. 26.

For Suarez confesseth[1] that the Gospel was preached here from the first rising of it. And Baronius from some MSS. in the Vatican affixeth our conversion to Christianity to the thirty-fifth year of our Lord, which was near nine years before the founding of the Roman church. But if the credit of these MSS. be questionable, this however is evident, that our Britain did not receive her first Christianity from Rome, but from the east. This, I say, is evident from the customs observed here from the beginning in the observation of Easter and the administration of baptism, different from the Roman use, but conform to the oriental churches. So that we may justly check the arrogance of the present Roman church in the words of St. Paul to the proud Corinthians, setting up among themselves certain customs, contrary to the institutes of all other churches, *Came the word of God out from you? or came it to you only*[m]*?* Q. d. Are you the first and only Christians? your church the first and only church of Christ? Yes, say the Romanists, our church is the mother of all other churches. But this is apparently false, *for the law first came out of Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.* The church of Rome pretends also to be the only church of Christ, i. e. that there is no true church of Christ but what is in union with and subjection to her. But this is as false a claim as the other. For there were divers true churches of Christ before the church of Rome was in being, which therefore could have no dependance upon her.

2. "That the church of Rome is the mistress of all

[1] Defens. Fid. Cath. l. 1.

[m] 1 Cor. xiv. 36.

"other churches," is another great untruth. A proposition which, if it should have been advanced in the first ages of the church, would have startled all Christendom. Every metropolitical church would presently have stood up, and loudly pleaded her own immunities, rights, and privileges, independent upon Rome or any other metropolis. These rights and privileges were confirmed, as of primitive and ancient custom, by the sixth canon of the great council of Nice, as hath been before shewn; established also by the eighth canon of the œcumenical council of Ephesus, as by and by will appear. Indeed in the days of old, when the church of Rome was quite another thing from what now it is, all other churches upon several accounts paid a singular respect to her, and gave her the preeminence; but they never acknowledged her mistresship over them, or themselves to be her serving-maids. This language would then have sounded very harsh, and been esteemed insolent and arrogant by all the churches of Christ. In later days indeed she hath made herself mistress, but a mistress of misrule, disturbing the peace, invading the rights, and imposing upon the faith of other churches.

3. "That the bishop of Rome is the vicar of "Christ," i. e. under Christ the head and governor of the universal church, is another gross untruth. The universal pastorship and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, over all other bishops, was never heard of, never pretended to by any bishop of that church for the first six hundred years and more, as I have before shewn. To which all that I shall now add concerns our British church. We say then, our

church of Britain was never under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome for the first six hundred years; Britain being a distinct diocese of the empire, and consequently having a primate of her own, independent upon any other primate or metropolitan. This appears first from the customs of our church during that time, in the observation of Easter, and the administration of baptism, different from, as was before observed, the Roman custom, but agreeing with the Asiatic churches. For it is altogether incredible, that the whole British church should so unanimously have dissented from Rome for so many hundred years together, if she had been subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman bishop, or that the Roman bishop all that time should suffer it, if he had had a patriarchal power over her.

Secondly, The same is evident by the unanimous testimony of our historians, who tell us, that when Austin the monk came into Britain, as St. Gregory's legate, (which was after the sixth century was fully complete and ended,) and required submission from our church to the bishop of Rome, as her patriarch, the proposal was rejected, as of a new and strange thing never heard of before. The answer of Dinothus, the learned abbot of Bangor, in the name of all the Britons, is famous, viz., "That they knew no "obedience due to him, whom they called the pope, "but the obedience of love, and that under God "they were governed by the bishop of Caerleon." Under God, i. e. immediately, without any foreign prelate or patriarch intervening, they were to be governed by the bishop of Caerleon, as their only primate and patriarch. Which privilege continued to the succeeding bishops of that see for seve-

ral ages, saving that the archiepiscopal chair was afterwards removed from Caerleon to St. David's. And that this was indeed the sense not only of Dinothus, but of all the whole body of our British clergy at that time, all our historians tell us, witnessing the absolute and unanimous resolution of the British clergy, both bishops and priests, synodically met together, not to subject themselves to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome. *Vide Spel. Com. Gual. Mon.* II. 12, *Bedam omnesque alios.*

This being the ancient privilege of the British church, we have an undoubted right of exemption from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome by the ancient canons of the catholic church; particularly by the sixth canon of the great Nicene council above mentioned, by which it was decreed, "That the an-"cient customs should every where obtain, and that "the then privileges of every province should be "preserved inviolate." But this is most evident from the eighth canon of the council of Ephesus, occasioned by the famous case of the Cyprian bishops; which was this: the metropolitan of Cyprus being dead, (Troilus, the bishop of Constance,) the bishop of Antioch pretended that it belonged to him to ordain their metropolitan, because Cyprus was within the civil jurisdiction of the diocese of Antioch. Upon this, the Cyprian bishops made their complaint to the general council at Ephesus, grounding it upon the Nicene canon, and pleading that their metropolitan had been of ancient time exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Antioch, and was ordained by a synod of Cyprian bishops; which privilege was not only confirmed to them by the

Ephesine council, but a general decree passed, "That the rights of every province should be pre-"served whole and inviolate, which it had of old, "according to the ancient custom." And it is to be observed, that the bishop of Antioch had a more colourable pretence to a jurisdiction over the Cyprian bishops, than Gregory could have to a jurisdiction over our British churches: for Cyprus was indeed within the civil jurisdiction of Antioch, but our Britain was originally itself a distinct diocese of the empire. Yet the Ephesine Fathers judged, that ancient custom should prevail in the case of the Cyprian bishops: how much more then should it in ours? Certainly pope Gregory, when by his legate Austin he challenged to himself a jurisdiction over our British church, was ignorant of, or had forgotten, or else regarded not the canons of the Nicene and Ephesine councils. If it be objected, that our British church afterwards submitted herself to the bishop of Rome as her patriarch, which power he enjoyed for many ages, and that therefore our first reformers cannot be excused from schism, in casting off that power which by so long a prescription he was possessed of; we answer, we did indeed yield ourselves to the Roman usurpation, but it was because we could not help it: we were at first forced, awed, and affrighted into this submission. For who hath not heard of the barbarous massacre of the poor innocent monks of Bangor, to the number of twelve hundred, for refusing Austin's proposal, and asserting the ancient rights and privileges of the Britannic churches[m]? When this

[m] [This is a mistake. The massacre at Bangor had no connection with Austin's mission. See *Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. I. p. 319, &c.]

force ceased, and we were left to our liberty and freedom of resuming our primitive rights, why might we not do it, as we saw occasion, without the imputation of schism? This is not only our just plea, but it is ingenuously confessed by father Barns our learned countryman, and of the Roman communion. His words are these: "The island of Britain anciently enjoyed "the same privilege with that of Cyprus, that is to "say, of being in subjection to the laws of no pa-"triarch: which privilege, though heretofore abo-"lished by tumults and force of war, yet being reco-"vered by consent of the whole kingdom in Henry "the Eighth's reign, seems for peace sake most pro-"per to be retained, so it be done without breach of "catholic unity, or incurring the charge of schism [n]." Indeed, we had very great reason to resume our primitive right and privilege of exemption from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, when by means thereof he lorded it over our faith, and imposed manifest and gross corruptions both in doctrine and worship upon our consciences. But this by the way. We return to the article of the Trent creed now before us.

Concerning which, it is farther to be observed, that it founds the universal pastorship of the bishop of Rome upon a divine right. It says, "the bishop "of Rome is the vicar of Jesus Christ;" i. e. under Christ the head and governor of the universal

[n] Insula autem Britanniæ gavisa est olim privilegio Cyprio, ut nullius patriarchæ legibus subderetur. Hoc autem privilegium etsi abolitum olim fuit bellorum tumultibus et vi, tamen cum tempore Henrici Octavi totius regni consensu fuerit repetitum, videtur pacis ergo retineri debere, sine dispendio catholicismi, et absque schismatis ullius nota. *Barns. Cath. Rom. Pacif.* sect. 3.

church. *Quo jure?* He is St. Peter's successor. What then? Why St. Peter was constituted by Christ the prince of the apostles, i. e. (if there be any connection of parts in the article,) he had by Christ committed to him authority and jurisdiction over the rest of the apostles, and consequently over the whole church.

But the falsehood and folly of this pretence hath been manifestly exposed by very many writers of our church [o], particularly that great man Dr. Bramhall, primate of Ireland, hath sufficiently refuted it in these few words [p]: "Let us consider," saith he,

"First, That all the twelve apostles were equal "in mission, equal in commission, equal in power, "equal in honour, equal in all things, except pri- "ority of order, without which no society can well "subsist.

"So much Bellarmin confesseth [q], that by these "words, *As my Father sent me, so send I you*, our "Saviour endowed them with all the fulness of "power that mortal men were capable of. And "therefore no single apostle had jurisdiction over "the rest; equals have no power over each other [r]; "but the whole college of apostles, to which the "supreme managery of ecclesiastical affairs did be- "long in common. Whether a new apostle was to "be ordained, or the office of deaconship was to be "erected; or fit persons were to be delegated for "the ordering of the church, as [s] Peter and John,

[o] Davenant Determ. Q. 47.

[p] [A just Vindication of the Church of England, Disc. II. 5.]

[q] De Pont. IV. 22.

[r] Par in parem non habet potestatem.

[s] Acts i. vi. viii. 14. xi. xv.

" Judas and Silas; or informations of great mo-
" ment were to be heard, as against Peter himself;
" (though Peter out of modesty might condescend,
" and submit to that to which he was not obliged
" in duty; yet it had not become the other apostles
" to sit as judges upon their superior, placed over
" them by Christ;) or whether the weightier ques-
" tions of the calling of the Gentiles, and circum-
" cision, and the Law of Moses were to be deter-
" mined, still we find the supremacy in the college.

" Secondly, That drowsy dream, that the pleni-
" tude of ecclesiastical power and jurisdiction was
" given by Christ to St. Peter, as to an ordinary
" pastor, to be derived from him to his successors,
" but to the rest of the apostles, as delegates for
" term of life, to die with themselves, as it is lately
" and boldly asserted, without reason, without au-
" thority either divine or human; so it is most
" repugnant to the doctrine of the Fathers, who
" make all bishops to be the vicars and ambassadors
" of Christ, (not of the pope,) and successors of the
" apostles, indifferently *vicaria ordinatione*, who
" make but one episcopacy in the world, whereof
" every bishop hath his share. St. Peter was a pas-
" tor, and the pastoral office is of perpetual neces-
" sity in the church. True; but so were all the
" rest of the apostles pastors as well as he. And if
" we examine the matter more narrowly, *cui bono?*
" for whose advantage this distinction was de-
" vised? it was not for St. Peter's own advantage,
" who, setting aside his principality of order, is
" confessed to have had but an equal share of
" power with his fellow apostles, but for the pope's
" advantage, and the Roman court's, whom they

" desire to invest solely with the key of all original " jurisdiction.

" And if we trace on this argument a little far- " ther, to search out how the bishop of Rome comes " to be St. Peter's heir *ex asse*, to the exclusion of his " elder brother the bishop of Antioch, they produce " no authority that I have seen, but a blind, ill- " grounded legend, out of a counterfeit Hegesippus, " of St. Peter's being about to leave Rome, and " Christ's meeting him upon the way, and admo- " nishing him to return to Rome, where he must be " crucified for his name; which reason halts on both " sides; the foundation is apocryphal, and the su- " perstructure is weak and unjointed, without any " necessary connection."

We have now, I think, sufficiently made good our second charge against the church of Rome, viz., That she hath changed the primitive canon and rule of faith, by adding many new articles to it; and those so far from being necessary articles of faith, that they are not truths, but manifestly erroneous propositions, repugnant to reason, Scripture, and the sense of the primitive catholic church. And yet all the clergy of the Roman communion are now forced not only to subscribe, but in the most solemn manner to swear to them. O miserably enslaved clergy!

There was a time when the Gallican church understood her own liberty, and boldly asserted it, refusing to own the authority of the Trent convention, as being altogether influenced and governed by the court of Rome. It was a brave protestation of the ambassador of France, made in the face of the council of Trent, in the name of the king his master,

and the French clergy, in these words[t]: "We "refuse to be subject to the command and disposi- "tion of Pius the Fourth; we reject, refuse, and "contemn all the judgments, censures, and decrees "of the said Pius. And although (most holy Fa- "thers) your religion, life, and learning, was ever, "and ever shall be, of great esteem with us; yet "seeing indeed you do nothing, but all things are "done at Rome rather than at Trent, and the "things that are here published are rather the de- "crees of Pius the Fourth than of the council of "Trent; we denounce and protest here before you "all, that whatsoever things are decreed and pub- "lished in this assembly, by the mere will and plea- "sure of Pius, neither the most Christian king will "ever approve, nor the French clergy ever acknow- "ledge to be the decrees of a general council."

I wish the Gallican church had still persisted in this resolution: "Yes," (saith a great man of our church,) "so she did, and doth to this day[u]. For "though she doth not oppose the council of Trent, "but acquiesce, to avoid such disadvantages as must "ensue thereupon, yet she did never admit it." I should be heartily glad if this were true; but if all the clergy of France, which represent the French church, do as well as the clergy of the other Roman catholic dominions subscribe and swear to the Trent creed, (as I suppose they do; and if they did not, I cannot see how they could be accounted within the communion of the Roman church,) then they admit of the council of Trent with a witness, in its full extent and latitude, as to all its canons, decrees,

[t] Goldast. tom. III. p. 571.

[u] Bramhall, tom. I. p. 128.

and definitions, not only which concern points of doctrine, (as is pretended,) but all other which relate to the discipline and government of the church. For this is the last article of the Trent creed: "Moreover, what things soever else are delivered, "defined, and declared by the sacred canons and "œcumenical councils, and especially by the holy "council of Trent, I undoubtedly receive and pro-"fess[x]."

IV. 3. The third and last thing we charge the church of Rome with, is, That she hath lamentably corrupted the primitive Liturgy and form of divine worship. This was a necessary consequent of the former; so corrupt a faith could not but produce as corrupt a worship. To enumerate and represent in their proper colours all the corruptions of the worship of God in the Roman church, would fill a large volume. I shall therefore only briefly point at some of them. The prayers of that church are in a tongue generally not understood by the people, contrary to reason, which of itself dictates, that when we pray to God we ought to understand our own prayers; contrary to the plain declaration of Scripture, 1 Cor. xiv, contrary to the practice of the catholic church in the first ages, when Christians every where prayed to God in the language of their respective countries, as Origen expressly tells us in his eighth book against Celsus, p. 402. [c. 37. p. 769.] Justin Martyr also, who lived very near the apostolic age, informs us, [Apol. I. c. 65. p. 82.] that in the Christian assemblies of his time there

[x] Cætera item omnia a sacris canonibus et œcumenicis conciliis, ac præcipue a sacrosancta Tridentina synodo tradita, definita et declarata, indubitanter recipio atque profiteor.

were κοιναὶ εὐχαι, common prayers, i. e. prayers wherein all that were present joined in common, and bore a part; and that (as we learn from other very ancient authors[y]) by making their responses aloud in due place, and by saying the other prayer after the priest or deacon *submissa voce*. Now there are no such common prayers in the church of Rome; the priests say and do all; the people being left to gaze about, or to whisper one to another, or to look upon their private manuals of devotion, according as their inclination leads them.

Again, whereas in the first and best ages, the churches of Christ directed all their prayers, according to the Scripture, to God only through the alone mediation of Jesus Christ; the Liturgy of the present church of Rome is interspersed with supplications and prayers to angels and saints, the unwarrantableness whereof I have above sufficiently shewn. To what is there said, I shall only add these two considerations:

First, Supposing (not granting) the learned men of the Roman church could by their subtle distinctions so refine the practice of the invocation of angels and saints, as to make it innocent to themselves; yet experience tells us, that the common people, who understand not those distinctions, are prone to transgress and run into sin, and a grievous sin too, in their practice of it, viz., to be taken off in a great degree from that trust and affiance, that entire dependance on Christ, that love and gratitude toward him which they ought to have, and indeed to be more fond of the saints than of their Saviour. It

[y] Cyprian. Serm. de Oratione.

is visible to all men, with what zeal the silly deluded souls run to the shrines of the saints, how even prodigal they are in their offerings to them, when in the mean time their devotion toward their Saviour is very cold, and their oblations to him sparing and niggardly. This is so manifest, that it hath been confessed by learned men of the Roman communion. It is acknowledged by Biel, in *Can. Miss. Lect.* 30. *in Expos. Cant. Mariæ:* "Most of "us are more affected towards some saint, than "towards our Lord himself[z]." By our Halensis, *Par.* 4. *Quæst.* 26. *Memb.* 3. "Sometimes sinners are "more inclinable to supplicate the saints than the "Judge[a]." Cassander also confesseth, there are men in the church of Rome, (otherwise no ill men,) who trust in their patron saints more than in Christ their Redeemer. His words are these: "There are "some, and those no bad men neither, who have "made choice of certain saints for their patrons and "guardians, and put more trust in their merits and "intercession, than in the merits of Christ[b]."

Secondly, Whereas it is pretended by some Romanists, especially of late, that their prayers to saints amount to no more than an *Ora pro nobis*, a praying, or desiring them to pray for us, as we desire the prayers of one another here on earth; this is

[z] Plerique nostrum magis afficimur circa sanctum aliquem aliquando, quam etiam circa Dominum.

[a] Peccatores ad sanctorum interpellationem quandoque magis animantur quam Judicis.

[b] Homines etiam non mali certos sibi sanctos tanquam patronos et tutores delegerunt, atque in eorum meritis atque intercessione plusquam Christi meritis fiduciam posuerunt.

manifestly false. For besides what hath been before observed, that they pray to saints deceased, and in a state and place vastly distant from them, wherein they cannot possibly hear their prayers, unless by revelation, or in *speculo Trinitatis*, which are groundless imaginations: I say besides this, divers of their greatest doctors ingenuously confess, yea, and boldly profess, that they pray to the saints, as they are appointed by God, to be *canales gratiæ*, between him and us; conduit-pipes or instruments of conveying his grace to us. So our Halensis: "Seeing "the divine grace descends upon us by means of "the saints, it is but fit that our ascent to God "be through their mediation[c]." So their learned archbishop of Florence: "It is the law of the Deity "to raise the things below to those that are above, "by those in the middle; but as to the gifts of "grace, the saints stand in the middle betwixt God "and such as are travelling towards him. Hence "the divine benefits descend upon us by the me-"diation of angels and holy souls[d]." They say also, that the saints do procure for us, and convey to us God's blessings by the merit of their intercession, and that this is the ground of their praying to them. So again *ubi supra:* "The saints "are invoked by us by reason of our want of merit,

[c] Divinorum charismatum ad nos per sanctos fit descensus: unde congruum est, quod ascensus noster ad Deum fiat sanctis mediatoribus. Part. IV. Quæst. 26. Art. 5.

[d] Lex Deitatis est infima per media ad suprema adducere: quantum vero ad dona gratiæ, beati sunt medii inter Deum et viatores: divina igitur beneficia ad nos descendunt mediantibus angelis et animabus sanctis. Part. III. tit. 3.

" that where our defects fail, those of others may " help us out [e]." So the great master of the Sentences, Peter Lombard: " We pray them to inter- " cede for us, that is, that their merits may succour " us [f]."

And indeed most of their prayers to the saints are so expressed, that they cannot without violence be interpreted to any other sense.

But most extravagant is the invocation and worship of the blessed Virgin, used and practised in the church of Rome. I will not urge here the hymn in Cassander's [g] time sung in their churches: " Beseech " thy mother, command thy Son, O happy parent, " who makest expiation for our wickedness; by thy " authority as a mother command the Redeemer [h]." Nor the psalter of our Lady, mentioned also by Cassander [i], as that which was in use in his time, in which through the whole Book of Psalms, whereso-ever the name of the Lord occurred it was changed into the name of our Lady. Though I know not whether those horrid blasphemies were ever censured and condemned by any public act of the Roman church.

But I do affirm, that there are still such addresses

[e] Sancti invocantur a nobis propter nostram inopiam in merendo, ut ubi nostra non suppetant merita, patrocinentur aliena.

[f] Oramus ut intercedant pro nobis, id est, ut merita eorum nobis suffragentur. Lib. IV. Dist. 45.

[g] Cassand. Consult. Art. 21 de Cult. sanct.

[h] Ora matrem, Jube Filio,
O felix puerpera,
Nostra pians scelera,
Jure matris impera Redemptori.

[i] Cassand. Consult. Art. 21. de Cult. sanct.

and forms of prayer to the blessed Virgin, either enjoined, or allowed by authority to be used in the church of Rome, as no man, who hath a due concern for the honour of his Redeemer, can read or hear without abhorrence and detestation. Such is that, in the office of blessed Mary[k], where they thus speak to her: "Hail, queen, the mother of "mercy, our life, delight, and hope, hail; we shelter "ourselves under thy protection, despise not our "supplications in the times of our necessity; but "deliver us from all dangers, thou ever glorious "Virgin[l]!" This is surely more than a "Pray for "us[m]." For they pray unto her as their life and hope, and fly to her as their refuge and protection, beseeching her to deliver them always from all dangers: but chiefly it is to be remarked, that she is here called the "queen and mother of mercy." Would you know the meaning of this? Berthorius will tell you: "The truth is, whereas the kingdom of God "consists in these two virtues, justice and mercy, "God bestowed on Mary, the queen of paradise, the "half part of his kingdom, that is, the mercy. And "for this cause it is, she is called the mother of "mercy[n]." The same exposition you may find in

[k] In officio beatæ Mariæ.

[l] Salve, regina, mater misericordiæ; vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve; sub tuum præsidium confugimus, nostras deprecationes ne despicias in necessitatibus: sed a periculis omnibus libera nos semper, Virgo gloriosa!

[m] Ora pro nobis.

[n] Ista est veritas, quod cum regnum Dei in duobus constet, scil. in justitia et misericordia, isti reginæ paradisi (Mariæ) dimidiam regni sui partem, scil. misericordiæ distributionem contulit Deus. *Igitur regina dicitur misericordiæ.* Lib. XIX. *Moralitatum*, cap. 4.

Biel [o]. And Cassander also acknowledgeth this to be the sense of that title given to the blessed Virgin.

In the Litany of our Lady, published in English here among us, she is called "Queen of angels, "patriarchs, prophets, and apostles; source of the "fountain of grace, refuge of sinners, comfort of "the afflicted, and advocate of all Christians." Now we have no instance of such attributes given to the blessed Virgin, either in the holy Scriptures, or in the writings of the ancient Fathers; and indeed they are too big for any mere creature. For here the government of heaven and all the holy angels therein is attributed to her, which belongs only to our Lord Christ [p]. And what do they mean by that title which they give her of "Source (*scaturigo*) of the "fountain of grace?" I cannot imagine any other meaning of it than this, that the Virgin Mary receiving first the emanation or efflux of grace from God the fountain of grace, by and through her all grace is carried and conveyed down to all the faithful. And so indeed Bernardinus explains the matter in these words: "No creature has obtained any "grace or virtue from God, but by the dispensation "of this pious mother [q]." They that under this notion address themselves to the blessed Virgin, surely do much more than desire her to pray for them, as we desire the prayers of one another.

What do they mean when they say she is the

[o] In Can. Missæ, Lect. 8.

[p] Ephes. i. 20, 21, 22.

[q] Nulla creatura aliquam a Domino obtinuit gratiam vel virtutem, nisi secundum ipsius piæ Matris dispensationem. Serm. LXI. Art. 1. c. 8.

refuge of sinners? From what hath been said before, concerning the kingdom of mercy, supposed to be committed to the blessed Virgin, and concerning the title of queen of mercy given her, we may conclude the sense to be this, that when sinners are troubled in their consciences, and terrified with the sense of their sins, and of the judgments of God denounced against them, they may and ought to have recourse to her as the queen of mercy, as their asylum and sanctuary, to shelter and protect them from the divine vengeance. This, a credible author assures us, hath been represented in several Roman catholic temples, in which Christ hath been painted with an angry menacing countenance, casting his darts against sinners, and the blessed Virgin interposing herself as mediatrix and repelling his darts. But Christ our Lord directs poor guilty sinners, whose consciences are oppressed with the burden of their sins, to a far better refuge, yea, the only refuge they are to fly to, even to himself: *Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* Matt. xi. 28.

And who can read without the greatest horror such a prayer to the blessed Virgin as this that follows? "O my Lady, holy Mary, I recommend my-
" self into thy blessed trust and singular custody,
" and into the bosom of thy mercy, this night and
" evermore, and in the hour of my death, as also my
" soul and my body: and I yield unto thee all my
" hope and consolation, all my distress and miseries,
" my life and the end thereof, that by thy most
" holy intercession, and by thy merits, all my works
" may be directed according to thine and thy Son's

" will. Amen." What fuller expressions can we use to declare our absolute affiance, trust, and dependance on the eternal Son of God himself, than they here use in this recommendation to the Virgin? And who observes not that the will of the blessed Virgin is expressly joined with the will of her Son, as the rule of our actions, and that so, as that her will is set in the first place? A smatch of their old blasphemous impiety, in advancing the mother above the Son, and giving her a commanding power over him. Yet this recommendation to the blessed Virgin is to be seen in a manual of prayers and litanies printed at Antwerp no longer ago than 1671, and that *permissu superiorum*, appointed to be used in the evening prayer for Friday. The book I had from a near relation of mine, (who had been seduced to the church of Rome, but afterwards returned again to the communion of the church of England,) who assured me, that she herself used it, by the direction of her confessor, in her private devotions.

There was a book published, (and that too *permissu superiorum*,) and in great vogue among our English catholics, in the reign of king James the Second, entitled, *Contemplations of the Life and Glory of the holy Mary:* wherein you may find these words; " God hath by a solemn covenant " pronounced Mary to be the treasury of wisdom, " grace, and sanctity under Jesus. So that whatso- " ever gifts are bestowed upon us by Jesus, we " receive them by the mediation of Mary: no one " being gracious to Jesus, who is not devoted to Mary: " nor hath any one been specially confident of the " patronage of Mary, who hath not through her

" received a special blessing from Jesus. Whence " it is one great mark of the predestination of the " elect, to be singularly devoted to Mary, since she " hath a full power, as a mother, to obtain of Jesus " whatever he can ask of God the Father, and is " comprehended within the sphere of man's predes- " tination to glory, redemption from sin, and rege- " neration by grace. Neither hath any one peti- " tioned Mary, who was refused by Jesus, nor " trusted in Mary, and was abandoned by Jesus." Afterwards he tells us, p. 9, " That though the con- " dition of some great sinners may be so deplorable, " that all the limited excellency, merits, and power " of all the saints and angels, cannot effectually bend " the mercies of Jesus to relieve them, yet such is " the acceptableness of the mother of Jesus to Jesus, " that whosoever is under the verge of her protec- " tion may confide in her intercessions to Jesus." There needs no comment to set forth the horridness of these assertions. Upon the whole matter, I cannot but think those silly women of Arabia, who once a year offered a cake in honour to the blessed Virgin as queen of heaven, to be as excusable at least as her devotees in the church of Rome. And yet they in their days were thought worthy of a place in the catalogue of heretics [r]. Sure I am, most of the arguments Epiphanius useth against the Collyridians may serve every whit as well against the papists.

To pass by the worship of images, allowed and practised in the church of Rome, of which I have said enough before,

Come we now to the principal part of the Christian

[r] Epiphan. Hæres. III. 79.

worship, the holy sacrament of the Eucharist. How lamentably hath the church of Rome vitiated the primitive institution of that most sacred rite! She hath taken from the laity the blessed cup, contrary to our blessed Saviour's express command as expounded by the practice of the apostles, and of the universal church of Christ, for the first ten centuries, as hath been above observed.

All the learned advocates of the Roman church, with all their sophistry, have not been able to defend her in this matter from manifest sacrilege, and a violation of the very essentials of the sacrament, as to the laity administered, nor can they prove it so administered to be a perfect sacrament. He that would see this in a short compass fully proved, and all the weak evasions of the Romanists obviated, may consult our learned bishop Davenant[s]. Besides, the whole administration of it is so clogged, so metaphorized and defaced by the addition of a multitude of ceremonies, and those some of them more becoming the stage than the table of our Lord, that if the blessed apostles were alive, and present at the celebration of the mass in the Roman church, they would be amazed, and wonder what the meaning of it was; sure I am, they would never own it to be that same ordinance which they left to the churches.

But the worst ceremony of all is the elevation of the Host, to be adored by the people, as very Christ himself under the appearance of bread, whole Christ, Θεάνθρωπος, *God and man*, while they neglect the old

[s] Determ. Quæst. 58.

sursum corda, the lifting up of their hearts to heaven, where whole Christ indeed is. A practice this is, which nothing can excuse from the grossest idolatry, but their gross stupidity, or rather infatuation, in thinking that a piece of bread can, by any means whatsoever, or howsoever consecrated and blessed, become their very God and Saviour. A very sad excuse indeed. Moreover, by what reason, by what Scripture, by what example or practice of the primitive churches, can the Romanists defend their carrying about the holy sacrament in procession, or the mockery of their solitary masses? I might pass from the holy eucharist to the other sacrament of baptism, and expose the many strange ceremonies used in the Roman church in the consecration of the font, and in the very administration of that sacrament. I might also take notice of the prayers used by the order of the Roman church in the consecration or blessing of certain inanimate things, for the producing supernatural effects, such as curing diseases, driving away devils, &c., without any warrant from Scripture, or promise of God, that such effects shall follow. But I shall stop here.

I have now gone through the several heads of discourse which I proposed to myself, and sufficiently I think proved, that the church of Rome hath altered the primitive ecclesiastical government; changed the primitive canon or rule of faith; and lastly, miserably corrupted the primitive Liturgy, and form of divine worship. For these reasons laid together, I can never be induced to enter into the communion of the Roman church as now it is: and for the same reason, (to speak my mind freely,) I wonder how so

learned a man as monsieur de Meaux can with a good and quiet conscience continue in it.

Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls. Jer. vi. 16.

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